ADOLESCENT HEALTH: TIME FOR A CHANGE

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1. "How Can Society Contribute to Meaningful Use of Adolescents' Spare Time?" by Ronald Feldman, Ph.D.
2. "Middle and Secondary School Environments as They Affect Adolescent Well Being" by Michelle Fine, Ph.D.

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How Can Society Contribute to Meaningful Use of Adolescents' "Spare" Time?

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HOW CAN SOCIETY CONTRIBUTE TO MEANINGFUL USE OF ADOLESCENTS' "SPARE" TIME?

"To be able to fill leisure intelligently is the last product of civilization." -- Bertrand Russell

Introduction

Many definitions of leisure can be found in the available literature (Loesch, 1984). In the present discussion, leisure will be regarded as time which an adolescent has free from work or other duties and which may be utilized for the purposes of relaxation, diversion, social achievement or personal development (Bloland, 1987; Gist & Fava, 1964). Employing the distinctions set forth by McAnarney (1985), the present discussion will focus upon early adolescents (10-14 years of age), middle adolescents (15-16 years of age), and late adolescents (17-20 years of age).

It is assumed by many that the effective use of leisure time significantly enhances adolescent growth and development. Consequently, a wide variety of helping and mental health professions have taken a strong interest in leisure activities for youths. The most directly involved professional groups are leisure counselors, educators, developmental psychologists, social workers, family counselors, and recreational therapists.

Leisure activities are presumed to provide youths with opportunities for experiences of mastery or competency (Iso-Ahola, 1980); creativity and self-expression (Dowd, 1984); self-improvement and self-definition (Loesch and Wheeler, 1982); self-fulfillment and personal meaning (Dowd, 1984); enhancement of character and personality (Iso-Ahola, 1980); testing oneself in competition (Kelly, 1982); development of interpersonal and social skills (Iso-Ahola, 1980); and, the development of autonomy (Dowd, 1984). It is believed that leisure can contribute to risk-free social experimentation and recognition (Loesch and Wheeler, 1982); improved physical health (Bloland, 1987); greater contrast and variety in one's life (Kelly, 1980); an increased sense of freedom (Dowd, 1984); identification with positive role models and mentors (Feldman, 1985); companionship and improved relationships with others (Dowd, 1984); entertainment and relaxation (McDaniel, 1984); and, the achievement of balance in one's life through meeting unmet needs (Loesch & Wheeler, 1982).

Clearly, however, not all leisure activities can enable youths to satisfactorily achieve goals such as the ones cited above. Indeed, many observers contend that youths often use their leisure time in ways that are dysfunctional or counterproductive for normal development (cf. Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce & Radosevich, 1979; Ellis, 1984). To better comprehend the relationship between youth development and leisure, therefore, it is essential to acquire relevant background information concerning such matters as: how youths spend their time; formal and informal leisure activities available to youths; the conceptual and empirical bases of youth programs; and, the respective roles of parents, peers and relevant others. These are central topics to be considered in the present review. Upon the basis of such information it will then be possible to consider more systematically such matters as the utility of recent innovations or expansions in leisure programs for youths, the revitalization or reinstitution of earlier programs, and relevant implications for federal policy concerning youths.

How Adolescents Spend Their Time

Given the centrality of leisure time for human growth and development, it is somewhat surprising and, indeed, unfortunate that the available data regarding adolescents' leisure activities are so limited. The most comprehensive surveys of American youths devote little attention to leisure. The University of Michigan's annual Monitoring the Future survey, for instance, interviews each year a nationally representative sample of about 17,000 high school seniors in 130 schools (Bachman, Johnston & O'Malley, 1987). Yet, it asks youths very little about their leisure orientations and activities. Even so, the available data clearly indicate that leisure activities are of great importance to America's youths. Thus, 70% of the high school seniors who were interviewed in 1986 stated that it was either "extremely important" or "quite important" to have "plenty of time" for recreation and hobbies. This was the highest percentage reported in the survey's ten-year history. Since 1976 no fewer than 64% of the respondents have regarded leisure activities as of such importance. Similarly, in considering the attributes of preferred jobs, 78% of the 1986 graduates regarded more than two weeks of vacation as "pretty important" or "very important" while 83% of the respondents considered it "pretty important" or "very important" that their job afford "a lot of time for other things in life." Both figures were higher than at any other time in the survey's history.

A review by Easterlin and Crimmins (1988) further indicates that a significant shift occurred in the leisure aspirations of American youths during the decade from 1976 to 1986. Among 14 life goals studied, the one with the greatest increase in importance during the decade was "having lots of money." Concurrently, youths considered it much more important than their counterparts a decade earlier to own such items as a vacation house, at least two cars, and a recreational vehicle. Both in 1976 and 1986, these items were exceeded in importance by other goals including "a good marriage and family life." Nevertheless, the foregoing goals rose most in importance and were integrally related to high valuations of leisure time by youths.

While large-scale national surveys offer major advantages with regard to population sampling and the provision of data about youth's leisure, they provide little information about the specific ways in which youths spend their free time. Perhaps the most systematic and reliable study in this regard has been conducted by Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1984). They utilized an innovative research procedure in which youths were asked to carry an electronic pager for one week and a pad of self-report forms. At a random moment within every two-hour period a signal was sent to the pager and the youth was instructed to complete a self-report form about his or her activity at that time. As the authors note, the adolescent subjects reported doing "all the things they normally do, from cutting classes to teasing friends, from shopping for dental floss to watching the Miss America contest" (p. 33).

The study provided a topography of each youth's daily experience from the early hours of Monday morning through late Saturday night. The investigators sought a sample with equal numbers of subjects from all four high school grades, approximately equal numbers of boys and girls, and equal numbers from two contrasting residential zones (a lower-middle-class sector of the community and an upper-middle-class-sector). Among the limitations of the research are that only 75 students were in the sample; the data were collected for only a two-month period during April and May (thus omitting an important leisure period, namely, the summer vacation); data were not collected on Sunday; only 60% of the girls and 45% of the boys who were invited to participate remained for the full two-month study period; the youths responded to only 69% of the signals that were sent; the data were collected more than a decade ago (viz., 1977); and, the subjects were drawn solely from a Midwestern urban area. Moreover, when a subgroup of 36 subjects was asked to describe what parts of their experiences were inadequately sampled during the week, they indicated that socializing with friends may have been underrepresented, particularly on weekend evenings. Yet, no other study provides such a detailed and comprehensive assessment of youths' leisure behavior within their own natural environments. Altogether, the 75 youths provided 4,489 self-reports about their behavior.[1]

Csikszentmihalyi and Larson found that the sampled youths spent 41% of their time at home, 32% at school, and 27% in public locations such as friends' homes, work or parks (see Table 1). Nearly 40% of the time spent at school was in locations other than the classroom. These afforded numerous opportunities for relatively unstructured social interaction with peers. The youths devoted 5.3% of their time, or about 5 hours per week, to paid jobs. They spent 5.4% at a friend's home; 3.8% in automobiles; 3.0% at miscellaneous public locations such as movies, discos, and restaurants; 2.8% in stores or cafes; 2.0% on streets; 1.7% in parks; 1.5% walking; and 0.4% on a bus or train. Only

0.8% of their time was spent at an indoor recreational facility and another 0.8% was spent at church.

Examination of the particular types of activities engaged in by the youths revealed that the greatest portion of their time (40%) was spent in leisure activities such as talking, sports and reading. Approximately 31% was spent in daily maintenance activities such as chores, errands, eating, traveling from one place to another, resting, and personal care (e.g., grooming, dressing and bathing). Another 29% was spent in "productive" activities, primarily studying (12.7%), classwork (12.0%), or jobs and related activities (4.3%). Even though more time was devoted to self-chosen leisure activities than to maintenance or productive activities, it is probable that estimates of the subjects' leisure behavior are low. This is due to the fact that data were not collected during such prime leisure periods as Sundays, weekdays after 11 p.m., and the summer.

Analysis of the subjects' leisure activities revealed that the single greatest proportion of their time was spent in socializing (16%). This figure is equivalent to one-sixth of the youths' waking hours. If one also includes the time when talking was reported in such activities as studying, watching television, and eating, the youths spent one-third of their day conversing with others. Hence, conversation was by far the single most prevalent activity in their lives. The next largest amount of time (7.2%) was spent in watching television. Hence, slightly more than one hour per day was spent in an activity that entailed little or no social interchange with others. An additional 7.3% of leisure time was spent in activities that essentially are solitary such as reading (3.5%), thinking (2.4%), and listening to music (1.4%) while another 4.9% was spent in activities that typically involve friends and peers such as sports and games (3.4%) or arts and hobbies (1.5%). Altogether, more than one-half of the youths' leisure time was spent in social interaction with others.

Detailed analyses by the researchers demonstrated that the leisure activities which youths consider to be most intrinsically rewarding are highly structured activities in which they can use their skills within an organized framework. Activities such as art, hobbies, and sports allowed the youths to pursue definite goals that were freely chosen. The most intrinsically motivating activities (namely, hobbies, art, sports, games and music listening) were not particularly free, spontaneous, hedonistic or passive. Typically, they involved external rules or challenges, linkage with the wider community, and socialization toward publicly accepted norms and symbols. These particular activities are much less common among adults than among youths.

The youths were relatively uncommitted with regard to activities that are specifically oriented toward adult socialization. In fact, their primary rewards and motivations were derived from activities that adults often consider to be of secondary importance. Related research has found that leisure activities such as team sports and games are more effective than other activities at generating prosocial behavior on the part of youths (Wodarski, Rubeiz & Feldman, 1974; Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983). Studies also have shown that leisure and work activities which involve the attainment of specific goals (Emmons, 1986; Emmons & Diener, 1986) and meaningful instrumental activity (Maton, in press; Feather & Bond, 1983) are positively related to important developmental variables such as self-esteem, positive affect, and life satisfaction. One study of delinquent and nondelinquent boys has indicated that the former clearly prefer games of chance and are not disposed toward games of strategy (Serok and Blum, 1980). Rather, they prefer games with low specificity, low number of rules, and high opportunity for the direct expression of aggression. Such games reflect their difficulty with rules and aggression in the larger community. Likewise, they may reflect such behavioral characteristics as the inability to delay gratification, weigh alternative actions, and accept responsibility for the consequences of their own behavior.

Of the 20 or so hours each week that Csikszentmihalyi and Larson's subjects spent in the classroom, only four were spent listening to teachers. A greater proportion, five hours per week, was spent listening to other students in class or in discussion groups. Hence, direct adult socialization was relatively rare even in the classroom.

Detailed data analyses indicated that youths seldom spent their time in the company of adults. One-fifth of their waking hours was spent with the family and only a portion of this with parents. About 27% was spent alone. In contrast, 23% was spent with classmates and 29% with friends. Hence, in terms of sheer amount of time, peers are by far the greatest presence in adolescents' lives. Comparable statistics for Japan and the Soviet Union suggest that adolescents in those countries may spend 90% less time in socializing with friends (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). However, this marked discrepancy also may be due to different ways of measuring "socializing" in the respective countries.

Studying took up about 13% of the American youths' waking time. Comparable data from other sources indicate that Japanese students spend about 59 hours a week in school or in studying (Japanese Finance Ministry, 1980) and that students from Soviet Russia spend about 52 hours per week in such activities (Zuzanek, 1980). Moreover, the Japanese school year is about 40% longer than in the United States (Stigler, Lee, Lucker & Stevenson, 1982). In contrast with the 42 hours per week that American youths spent in leisure time activities, their peers in East Germany (Micksh, 1972) and the Soviet Union (Zuzanek, 1980) each devoted 26 hours per week to free time while youths in Japan spent 28 hours.

An analogous study of Canadian adolescents was reported at about the same time by Farley (1979). The sample consisted of youths who were between 10 and 17 years of age and of above-average socioeconomic status. Information regarding the daily activities of 129 youths was collected by means of a sequential record of every activity that lasted a minimum of 15 minutes. The subjects were asked to recall relevant information for the previous weekday and the previous Sunday. Aside from weekday school attendance, the activity grouping that clearly emerged as the most widespread on both weekdays and Sundays was passive leisure (see Table 3). Nearly 90% of the youths devoted some time each day to passive activities. On the average, two to three hours were spent passively both on weekdays and Sundays. Nearly three-quarters of this time was accounted for by one activity, television watching. Low levels of participation were recorded for such activities as work away from home, cultural and educational activities, and organizational activities.

Farley examined the specific the types of activities in which youths participated and calculated an "importance ratio" for each of them, that is, the percentage of respondents participating in a given activity who considered it to be "important" or "very important" (see Table 4). Large proportions of youths took part in such activities as watching TV (85.3%), sports (65.3%), listening to music (62.0%), and reading (58.9%). Relatively few took part in such activities as gardening (9.5%), church activities (11.8%), home movies and photography (13.2%), mechanics and electronics (14.0%), and youth organizations (18.0%). Yet, 100% of the subjects who took part in youth organizations or church activities regarded them as "important" or "very important." The percentage of boys who participated in youth organizations (29.1%) was nearly three times that of girls (10.5%).

More recently, Keith et al. (1986) reported the results of a 1983 study of early adolescents from the State of Michigan. A group of 304 youths was chosen by means of a stratified multistage cluster sampling technique and an equal probability selection method. Students were selected from two school districts in each of 20 counties of the State. There were 150 boys and 154 girls. The sample included 78 fifth graders, 70 sixth graders, 77 seventh graders, and 79 eighth graders who ranged in age from 11 through 14 years. It mirrored Michigan census data with respect to such variables as the distribution of two-parent and one-parent families, income level, and ethnicity. The study focused, in particular, upon family relationships. Church, games and sports activities were the most likely ways that parents and children spent time together. Despite these shared experiences, however, 38% of the mothers felt that they spent "too little" time with their early adolescents and 53% of the fathers felt this way.

In the Michigan study, 90% of the youths reported that they watched television everyday. Situation comedies and adventure shows were liked best. Significantly more girls (50%) than boys (21%) watched soap operas. Many of the early adolescents belonged to a sports team (58%), church group (35%), or another kind of youth group (18%). As Hill (1980) has noted, such groups can be an important force in the mastery of developmental tasks. They provide an excellent place where youths can go into the world while still being supervised to a greater or lesser extent by an adult. They often provide a peer group where attachment and identity development can be enhanced, where there is some kind of product or goal that promotes the task of achievement, and where youths can expand their world in order to achieve autonomy.

Over 75% of the Michigan youths reported that they had joined a group because it was fun or had interesting activities. Almost 40% said that they had joined to learn a specific skill or activity. One-third said that they joined because a friend was in the group. About 70% reported that they had gained a skill or knowledge because of their participation in a group. One-third said that they had met new friends in the group and another one-third said that they had learned responsibility from being in a group. Correspondingly, the subjects' parents reported that their children had gained social skills, subject matter knowledge and skills, personal skills, and self-esteem as a result of participation in a youth group. Among the best liked youth activities were bicycling, swimming, camping, fishing and softball. Uninteresting meetings and losing in activities were among the aspects of group membership that the youths disliked. They described good youth group leaders as being nice, caring, helpful, understanding, and knowledgeable about group activities.

Despite a paucity of field studies about leisure behavior in youths' natural environments, a substantial body of demographic and epidemiological literature suggests how tomorrow's youths are likely to spend much of their time. In the next two decades, youths will spend far less time than ever before with two parents. In fact, more than half of the children born in America today will live in single-parent homes before age 18 (Ford Foundation, Project on Social Welfare and the American Future, 1989). Among children whose mothers do not complete high school, 68% are likely to spend some time in a single-parent household. Among children of teenage mothers, this figure is 78%, and for black children it is 86% (Wynn et al., 1988). Because single parents find it especially difficult to manage both work and child care their adolescent youngsters frequently are left to their own devices when they have spare time.

Adolescents today spend much more time than their counterparts of two decades ago in shopping malls (Anthony, 1985), video arcades (Ellis, 1983; Ellis, 1984), and watching television (Keith et al., 1986; Lefstein, 1986). They are more often than before alone or solely with peers in the post-school hours. In an era of limited financial resources for public education, after-school programs for adolescents have been among the foremost casualties of budget slashes. Most supervised after-school programs at public schools are aimed at preadolescents (Marx, 1989). Often, immediate needs such as building maintenance, security, and insurance take precedence even though such expenditures can be reduced substantially by after-school programs that engage adolescents in constructive community-oriented activities.

"Latchkey" children frequently are left to fend for themselves not only because of the increase in single-parent families but, also, because of the surge in working mothers since World War II. Parents express worry about their adolescents' safety when they work and when their children are unsupervised (Farel, 1983). When both parents work, they also are less able to transport their children to after-school activities even if they exist.

In a thoughtful review of the problems of unsupervised youths, Marx (1989) notes that attention to the problems of latchkey children usually has been directed toward elementary school youngsters. Yet, there is a growing consensus that young adolescents between the ages of 10 and 15 also may be at risk when left in unsupervised settings. A study of parents' preferences about after-school programs at 19 sites across the country revealed that they worry about their 10- to 14-year-olds coming under the bad influence of peers with regard to drinking, abusing drugs, stealing, fighting, being beaten up, and engaging in gang activity. A related study in Minnesota (Hedin et al., 1986) found that parents of elementary school children are especially concerned about such after-school problems as injuries to their children (80%), watching television too much (42%), being kidnapped (40%), and being sexually abused (39%).

Although relatively few young children are left to care for themselves, by age 10 about 16% of children with full-time working mothers are in self-care or in non-adult care; by age 13 this figure rises to 25% (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1987). Even higher figures are reported in other studies.[2] Youths do not relish being alone after school. Hedin et al. (1986) reported, for instance, that 15% to 20% of 9- to 13-year-olds want to increase their participation in after-school programs. Urban minority youths from one-parent families especially wished to do so.

Although some adolescents are gainfully employed after school, many others, especially minority youths, are disproportionately unemployed or underemployed (Malveaux, 1989). Many work in jobs that are routine or menial and which offer little in the way of learning experiences that promote individual development and maturity (Gibbs, 1989). Adolescents' use of spare time also is increasingly influenced by such trends as the smaller numbers of children in families, widespread expansion of electronic media, reduced human labor needed in the home, delayed entrance into full-time employment, increased family mobility, widening opportunities in education, and increased availability of leisure time activities (Keith et al., 1986). Accordingly, it is germane to examine the extent to which our nation has invested in constructive leisure programs for youths.

How Adolescents Spend Their Time: Summary

Adolescents spend their "spare" time in a wide range of activities. By far the greatest portion of their time is devoted to social interaction with peers. Although substantial amounts of time are spent in watching television and in other relatively passive or solitary activities, adolescents greatly prefer to engage in structured activities such as team sports and games. Participation in these activities generally is associated with prosocial behavior patterns on their part.

A relatively small proportion of adolescents take part regularly in programs that are sponsored by church groups or youth organizations. Yet, those who do participate in these activities regard them as important.

Although at least one-quarter of adolescents above age 13 are in self-care or non-adult care after school, most would prefer to take part in school-based extracurricular activities. The working parents of unattended adolescents worry about their safety and well-being. Yet, by necessity large numbers of American adolescents are left to their own devices during their spare time. In large part, this time is spent with peers.

Current Alternatives for Youths

The available literature reveals many ways for youths to spend their free time. These may be either formally organized, informally organized, or unorganized. Some leisure activities are highly accessible to youths and others are less so. Some foster individual growth and socialization toward adulthood while others are decidedly counterproductive in these respects. The breadth and diversity of extant programs renders it virtually impossible to categorize them in any but the most global terms. Hence, it is difficult to examine clusters of programs in a way that yields reliable and generalizable data about their implementation and outcomes.

One perspective, albeit a global one, regarding youth services is afforded by a longitudinal overview of federal expenditures for children and youth. Available data indicate, for instance, that such expenditures rose steadily from $4.2 billion in 1964, to $11.1 billion in 1970, $28.6 billion in 1976, and $45.4 billion in 1980 (Columbia University, 1982). Respectively, this represented 6.7%, 9.8%, 10.5% and 10.7% of total domestic outlays (that is, exclusive of defense and foreign aid) by the federal government. In the same period, the proportionate share of the under-18 population fell from 36.5% to 28.4%. Thus, the share of federal spending devoted to children and youth rose sharply at the same time that their share of the population declined. Nevertheless, federal expenditures for youth remain proportionately much lower than can be justified by the size of the youth population.

In 1980, the greatest percentages of federal outlays for children and youths were for income maintenance programs (35.5%), nutrition (19.4%), education (16.5%), health (8.4%), employment (6.4%), housing (5.3%), and community development (5.2%). Relatively little was allocated for child care (2.4%), juvenile justice (0.6%), or recreation (0.3%). Indeed, federal expenditures for recreation declined steadily from 0.5% of the domestic federal budget in 1964 to only 0.3% in 1980. Concomitantly, proportionate federal outlays increased considerably for such expenditures as child care (50%), health (62%), nutrition (177%), juvenile justice (600%), and employment (2,033%). The paucity of attention directed toward recreation and leisure programs for youths is reflected at the state level as well.

For instance, program participation of 56 states, territories, and the District of Columbia in the 1982 White House Conference on Children and Youth revealed that only six (District of Columbia, Hawaii, Louisiana, Maryland, Ohio, and Wyoming) treated recreation and leisure as a major concern in their statewide conferences (Office of Human Development Services, 1983).

It is difficult to acquire accurate data about so fundamental a factor as the actual number of adolescents who participate in formal youth programs. Few youth organizations employ the same methods to determine membership. An adolescent sometimes is counted as a participant in a youth program even if he or she attended only a single meeting and then quit. Many adolescents acquire membership in a youth organization but never take part in any of its programs. Some may join three or four programs at a given agency but be counted only as a single membership. Other organizations may credit three or four memberships to a single youth. Only in a few instances do youth organizations employ standardized measures such as "full-time equivalents" in order to determine member participation.[3]

Historical Overview

In the United States, little recognition of youth as an integral sector of the population occurred from the colonial period until approximately 1860. Toward the end of this period, rapid industrial growth, immigration, urbanization, and changes that transformed the family from a producing to a consuming unit created social conditions that raised concerns about the role of youths. From 1860 to 1900, many organizations that were concerned about the religious and moral welfare of American youths initiated or expanded youth programs. Their services were directed toward such groups as railroad workers, black youths, college students, American Indians, and immigrants. Programs were primarily of a social, cultural, or educational nature.

From 1900 through approximately 1930, youth agencies emphasized leisure and recreational programs as well as social reform. At the same time, courses in social group work were introduced at schools of social work. These contributed substantially to youth programs. Organizations such as the Boy Scouts (1910), Camp Fire Girls (1910), Girl Scouts (1912), and National Jewish Welfare Board (1917) were formed. The National Federation of Settlements (1911) emerged as one of the first networking efforts in the youth service field. During the same era, the federal government established the 4-H Program (1914).

During the Depression years, the federal role in youth services grew markedly. The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration led efforts to provide employment while attending also to the vocational, academic, and leisure needs of youths. In the period following World

War II, California, New York and other states established agencies to deal with discrete youth problems such as juvenile delinquency. Residential treatment centers and other programs with a mental health emphasis grew substantially in both the public and the private sectors. In the early 1960s, a large infusion of federal funds stimulated the growth of programs that were aimed at such problems as youth unemployment, family breakdown, teen pregnancy, and juvenile delinquency. Private agencies devoted increasing attention to a broad variety of mental health problems and to the special needs of minority youths and economically disadvantaged youths. Organizations such as Aspira, the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, Boys Clubs of America, Girls Clubs of America, YMCA, YWCA and Catholic youth organizations focused on the needs of special youth populations while, at the same time, attempting to increase dialogue and shared activities among youths from different cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. In the 1970s and early 1980s many of these agencies increasingly addressed such concerns as parental separation and divorce, sex role development, drugs and alcohol, environmental stress, racism, teen parenting, and neighborhood development. Efforts at collaboration and coordination were stimulated by such organizations as the National Collaboration for Youth.

National Programs

A recent tabulation indicates that more than 300 national youth organizations operate with chapters of varying size throughout the United States (Erickson, in preparation). Two of the largest national youth organizations are the Boy Scouts and the 4-H Clubs, each with memberships of over four million youths in 1986. The membership in these and seven other major youth organizations (Girl Scouts of America, Boys and Girl Clubs, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association, Camp Fire, and Salvation Army) totaled 17 million in 1980, over one-third of all elementary and high-school age youths (LaBelle, 1981).[4]

Long established agencies still dominate the youth service field. The Boy Scouts of America, for example, had a 1983 membership equal to 15.9% of all American males 7 through 16 years of age (Boy Scouts of America, 1984). However, between 1972 and 1983 the number of Scouts and Explorers in the organization declined by 22% from 2,405,220 youths to 1,867,982 (Boy Scouts of America, 1984). This may represent a decline in the youth population itself and, possibly, a diminished ability to attract youths to the organization's programs. A somewhat lesser decline has been experienced by the Salvation Army. Between 1982 and 1988, for instance, this organization reduced its camps from 54 to 49. The number of community centers and clubs for boys and girls declined by 9% from 123,448 to 111,834 (Salvation Army, 1988). At the same time, there was an expansion in

Salvation Army day care centers (from 98 to 138) and in the number of children served by group homes (from 61,911 to 77,190).

In recent years, the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Salvation Army and related organizations have proceeded substantially beyond their original missions in order to establish a variety of new programs. These include after school-care programs for latchkey children, problem-solving programs for minority youths, and programs that help parents to promote ethical decision-making on the part of their children. Many organizations have devised highly targeted programs for special populations such as runaways and neglected or abused youths. There also has been a proliferation of smaller agencies, such as runaway shelters and group homes, that provide service for as few as 8 to 10 youths at a time. The emergence of such programs has led to the formation of organizations that engage primarily in networking and linkage activities. For example, the National Network of Runaway and Youth Services and the National Consortium of Child Mental Health Services have attempted to link together agencies that serve special youth populations. Other organizations, such as the National Association for Children of Alcoholics, provide a shared forum for youths who face specific types of problems. Even others, such as the National Youth Work Alliance and Youth Service America, have promoted information exchange, program coordination, and policy planning among youth service agencies.

Within the private sector, the Boys Clubs of America is the major nationwide organization with a primary focus on direct service for disadvantaged youths. In 1984 it served 1.2 million youths. Of these, 61% ranged in age from 11 to 18 years, 75% were from families with annual incomes under $12,000, 30% from families that receive public assistance, 51% from minority families, and 46% from single-parent households (Boys Clubs of America, 1984). The agency's programs focus on a broad range of concerns, including citizenship and leadership development, health and fitness, youth employment, delinquency prevention, and the promotion of talent in sports and the arts. Comparable data for 1988 indicate that the youth membership of this organization has remained stable with 1.285 million young people at 1,100 facilities across the nation (Boys Clubs of America, 1988). The distribution of members from minority families, single-parent families, and families receiving public assistance was virtually the same in 1984 and 1988. However, the proportion of 11- to 18-year-old members declined from 61% in 1984 to 53% in 1988. The Boys Clubs have developed curricula for youth programs in such key areas as health promotion, juvenile delinquency prevention, youth employment, citizen and leadership development, alcohol abuse prevention, and education for family life.

The Girls Clubs of America experienced an increase in membership from 200,000 in 1984 to 250,000 in 1988 (Girls

Clubs of America, 1988). During the same period, the proportion of Black, Hispanic and Asian members increased from 44% to 50%. However, only 29% of Girls Club members range in age from 12 to 18 years. Among its innovative programs are AIDS education, Friendly PEERsuasion (a program for substance abuse prevention), and Operation SMART (science, math and relevant technology).

The financial vulnerabilities of organizations such as the Girls Clubs are worth noting. Only 23% of the organization's annual income is generated from direct revenues. Membership dues yield 11% of revenues while 6% comes from interest and dividends, 5% from special events, and 1% from miscellaneous sources. By contrast, 77% is generated from four major sources: 28% from foundations, 23% from corporations, 15% from government sources, and 11% from Board members and other individuals. Data from a study by Gronbjerg, Kimmich and Salamon (1985) indicate that in 1982 38.4% of funds for human service agencies came from government while 29.6% were raised from fees, dues or charges. Other sources of revenue were individual giving (6.4%), special events (5.7%), United Way (5.4%), endowment and investment income (4.6%), foundation grants (3.5%), corporate gifts (3.2%), religious and other federated funders (2.8%), and other unspecified sources (0.4%).

As Wynn et al. (1988) have noted, the nonprofit organizations in which youths can participate include a wide range of possibilities. There are career groups such as Junior Achievement; character-building organizations such as the Boy Scouts; political groups like Young Democrats and Young Republicans; veterans' organizations such as the Sons of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; hobby groups including Junior Philatelists of America; and, ethnic groups like the Ukrainian Youth Organization and Indian Youth of America.[5] Apart from membership in the major organizations, no systematic data can be found regarding the total number of youths who participate in national youth organizations. It is even more difficult to ascertain the membership of local organizations such as high school fraternities, sororities, and for-profit health or social centers.

Local Programs

In a recent study concerning youth programs sponsored by the independent sector, Wood (1988) concluded that the available membership statistics are incomplete and ambiguous. This is especially true for services that are provided to youths between the ages of 16 and 24. According to Internal Revenue Service files, the independent sector consists of 821,000 organizations, including nonprofit organizations, churches, colleges, universities, hospitals, and foundations. Of these, about 325,000 are human service 501(c)(3) organizations, and 10%, or 32,500, are "youth agencies," meaning that 50% or more of their clients are between the ages of 12 and 19. In an additional 91,000 agencies, youths age 12-19 constitute between 10% and 50% of the clientele.

Among agencies catering to children and youth, 25% are engaged primarily in recreation. Nearly 7 out of every 10 organizations that are concerned with employment, training, housing, community development, and legal advocacy or assistance receive some form of government support as opposed to only 5.5 of every 10 agencies involved in culture, arts, and recreation. Poor persons constitute over half the clientele of 20% of agencies; 15% serve blacks primarily. Wood has noted that neither the participation rates of youths nor the impact of participation on their quality of life is clearly known. About 18% of human service organizations can be regarded as developmental-recreation (e.g., Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts) while the vast majority, 72%, are compensatory-helping (e.g., family counseling agencies). About 43% of churches, or 142,000 religious congregations, sponsor youth groups (Salamon & Teitelbaum, 1984).

State and local communities also sponsor a broad range of organizations and programs that provide leisure opportunities for youths. These include such diverse offerings as community service programs, teen centers, public concerts, and libraries. A wide-ranging report issued by the William T. Grant Foundation (1988) notes that about $145 million is spent annually on the 50 year-round or summer youth corps that are sponsored by state or local authorities. These serve approximately 50,000 youths.

Youth Service Programs

Approximately 4,000 youth service programs are in existence today in the United States (Schwartz, 1989). This configuration includes more than 50 full-time youth service corps, 550 campus-based service programs, 3,000 school-based service programs, at least 50 organized community-based service corps and programs, and full-time federal service programs such as the Peace Corps, VISTA and the all-volunteer military forces.

Cities are particularly active in the youth corps movement (Grant Foundation, 1988). Thus, for example, the City Volunteer Corps of New York City (CVC), with an annual $10 million budget, has pioneered volunteer efforts in human service delivery. It has established a program for high school youths who work full-time in the summer and part-time during the school year. In 1988, CVC instituted a small program for students already in college, offering summer stipends and bonuses for one and two semesters of part-time Corps work. About 600 CVC volunteers work on projects in city parks, building rehabilitation, centers for retarded adults, nursing homes, and schools. Every three months the participants change projects so that they can have environmental, construction and human service work experiences during a one-year period. CVC also offers completion incentives: $2500 for those who complete one year of service, or $5000 toward college for those who choose to resume their studies.

New York City also sponsors a Youth Bureau that is responsible for planning, implementing and monitoring development and delinquency prevention programs for youths. It provides no services directly but relies on community-based organizations with which it contracts. There were 582 such contract agencies in fiscal year 1989 with a budget of $30.7 million (McGowan & Walsh, in press). The community-based programs with which the Youth Bureau contracts typically provide recreational, educational, counseling, cultural enrichment, or vocational services. Collectively, the Youth Bureau programs serve between 15% and 25% of the young people in New York City. However, this is difficult to determine precisely because the Bureau has no consistent definition of units of service for contract agencies and there is overlap in the individuals served by separate contract agencies. Altogether, the agency's budget averages less than $16 per youth in New York City.

Public Libraries

An important, but often overlooked, site for adolescent leisure activities is public libraries. Razzano (1985) found that the majority of teenagers use libraries to do homework and research. Some libraries offer creative opportunities for adolescents to provide support across generations, including storytelling for young children and serving as "computer tutors" to children and adults. They also offer programs for consolidating academic and reading skills; opportunities for learning practical life skills such as budget planning and hunting safety, and chances for exploring social or emotional issues that are relevant to adolescence (Wynn et al., 1988). Yet, one study has shown that in Chicago neighborhoods in which the median family income is below $25,000, the average number of children per public library is twice the average number of children per library in neighborhoods with a median family income above $25,000 (Testa & Lawlor, 1985). More than two times as much money was spent per child on libraries in more affluent communities than in communities with lower family incomes.

School-Based Programs

A large number of public and private schools offer programs that afford recreation and/or counseling to at-risk students. Many have initiated prevention programs for substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and a broad range of health and mental health problems (Dryfoos, 1988; Schwartz, 1988; Levine, Allen-Meares & Easton, 1987; Schinke & Gilchrist, 1986). The numbers of students in such programs cannot be inferred from the fragmented and nonsystematic data that are currently available. Moreover, the data regarding the relative benefits and costs of these programs are limited (Kinder, Pape & Walfish, 1980; Schinke & Gilchrist, 1985).

Perhaps the most successful programs offered in schools are peer tutoring and peer counseling programs. These often have been reported to provide a wide range of benefits both for the tutees and the tutors themselves (Kuhn & Pressman, 1980; Gerber & Kauffman, 1981; Dineen, Clark & Risley, 1977; Laviguer, 1976). During the past three decades, peers have been employed increasingly and with substantial success in same-age and cross-age tutoring programs. They have administered or monitored behavioral programs in classrooms, institutions for the emotionally disturbed and retarded, and juvenile rehabilitation settings. They have also been employed as therapists for the remediation of behavior disorders (Colletti & Harris, 1977), as counselors (Dorosin, D'Andrea & Jacks, 1976), and as trainers (Maloney, Timbers & Maloney, 1977). In one New York City school, administrators report that a peer mediation program has cut in half the suspension rate while, in other cities, peer counseling and mediation efforts are credited with reducing violence and discipline problems in public school (Dullea, 1987).

Many schools have initiated exemplary community youth service programs. Accordingly, the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development has recommended that youth community service be part of the core program in middle school education (Task Force on Education of Young Adolescents, 1989:70-71). It notes that students can volunteer to work at a wide range of settings including senior citizen centers, nursing homes, soup kitchens, child care centers, parks, and environmental centers. Several national youth organizations consider community service to be a central part of their regular program and have closely integrated their programs into school curricula. The Early Adolescent Helper Program of the City University of New York, for instance, has involved hundreds of students from 17 New York City middle and junior high schools in structured educational enrichment and youth service activities. Moreover, the program has been adopted by school systems elsewhere.

Informal Activities

Adolescents devote considerable time to a wide range of informal leisure activities. These often are with peers, as is typically the case when youths take part in sandlot sports or when they visit shopping malls in small groups. Informal leisure activities also may occur alone, such as when watching television. Recent studies indicate that over 70% of adolescents watch television daily (Keith et al., 1986) and that adolescents spend up to 25 hours per week watching television (Murdock & Phelps, 1973; Starr, 1986). Hispanic youths may watch television for as many as 30 hours per week (Greenberg & Heeter, 1983). Up to 10 hours per week are spent at such informal leisure sites as video arcades (Nelson & Carlson, 1985) and shopping malls (Anthony, 1985). An in situ study of 25 adolescents' leisure behavior suggests that talking with peers consumes a greater portion of their time (14.7%) than watching TV (10.6%) (Csikszentmihalyi, Larson & Prescott, 1977). However, youths report that their least positive moods (that is, when they feel least active, happy, friendly and sociable) occur when they watch television. By contrast, they perceive themselves as being most active, free, excited and sociable when they are engaged in games or sports.

Schneller (1984) conducted a study of youth's leisure time based on written diaries logged every half hour from the close of school until bedtime. The data revealed a negative correlation between TV viewing and such activities as participation in social or cultural events, youth movement activities, excursions, and outdoor games. Hence, TV watching and the latter types of social activities may compete with one another (Himmelweit, 1958; Brown, Crammond & Wilde, 1974). Television viewing seems to decrease, however, by as much as 10% between the ages of 12 and 15 years (Schueller, 1988).

Similarly, a study of 184 sixth, seventh, and eighth graders shows a negative correlation between TV viewing and membership in school, church, and musical groups (Selnow & Reynolds, 1984). A modest negative relationship also exists between TV viewing and sleeping. A positive relationship was found between TV viewing and such activities as listening to records or tapes and playing arcade video games. The authors concluded that excessive viewing entails "opportunity costs" which preclude other forms of valuable activity. Youths who view greater amounts of television are less likely to take advantage of the social learning opportunities provided by group memberships. Instead, they may displace this social time with a passive, noninteractive activity. While lessons of compromise, problem solving, leadership, followership, persuasion, and communication may be modeled on television, actual opportunities to engage in these behaviors may be foregone by the act of watching television.

The Kettering Commission (1980) has estimated that, by the age of 18, many youths have logged over 15,000 hours in front of the television set compared to only 11,000 hours in school. Its members suggest further that "many youth are addicted to television, requiring a daily 'fix' of at least several hours" (p. 102). By the age of 14, it is presumed that the average youth has seen 11,000 murders on television (Starr, 1986).

Some observers suggest that solitary forms of leisure activity are associated with tendencies to engage in deviant behavior (Biddle et al., 1981). Csikszentmihalyi, Larson and Prescott (1977) have reported that the amount of television watching by adolescents is significantly correlated with such delinquent acts as vandalism, shoplifting, and skipping school. Others posit that solitary activities can be of developmental value by fostering cognitive skills, conveying diverse forms of knowledge, and offering relaxation in the midst of otherwise hectic lives. The increased use of computers is regarded as a particularly productive advance in this regard (Condry & Douglas, 1983).

One key factor that determines the developmental utility of informal activities is the peers with whom an adolescent interacts. If they are primarily normal prosocial youths, informal activities can promote positive outcomes. If one interacts primarily with peers who are antisocial or who exhibit significant problem behaviors, the likelihood of negative outcomes is heightened. This supposition underlies a broad range of theoretical formulations concerning delinquent behavior including, in particular, the theory of differential association (Akers, 1977; Sutherland & Cressey, 1978). Substantial empirical support has emerged with regard to the latter formulation and the underlying dynamics upon which it is based. These pertain to the effects of affective ties among peers (Linden & Hackler, 1973), reciprocal reinforcement for maladaptive behavior (Solomon & Wahler, 1973; Conger, 1976), antisocial behavioral modeling (Goldberg, 1976; Biddle, Bank & Martin, 1980), response facilitation and stimulus enhancement (Ulrich & Favell, 19780), and maladaptive social comparison processes (Clark, 1972; Staub, 1972).

Research indicates that the optimum amount of solitary activity is likely to vary in accord with the unique needs of each adolescent (Kleiber & Richards, 1985). For more mature youths, increased time alone generally is associated with better adjustment. Although youths do not regard the experience of being alone as particularly pleasant, those who spend at least a moderate amount of time alone (about 30% of their waking hours) appear to be better adjusted. Hence, being alone for reasonable periods of time may serve a developmental function (Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1978; Crespi, 1983).

Home-based video games (Panelas, 1983; Crespi, 1983) and the viewing of music videos on television (Sun & Lull, 1986) are increasingly of interest to American adolescents. Sun and Lull (1986), for instance, found that 603 ninth to twelfth graders view MTV approximately two hours per day. While some observers regard such uses of leisure time as an "addiction" (Soper & Miller, 1983), it is evident that the utility of these activities, too, depends upon a wide range of variables such as the extent of peer and parental involvement and the substantive content of the videos. Rigorous research concerning the effects of these particular forms of leisure activity is virtually nonexistent.

Alternatives for Adolescents: Summary

A wide range of leisure alternatives exists for adolescents. While most of their time during weekdays is spent in school, a majority of this occurs in social interactions with peers rather than in direct interactions with teachers. Considerable time is spent in studying. Large numbers of adolescents of all ages take part in school-based extracurricular activities such as sports and hobby clubs. Little reliable evidence exists, however, regarding the number of youths served by such activities, the quality of the services provided, or their short-term and long-term effects.

By and large, youths take most interest in organized sports and clubs. However, girls' interest in these activities declines more markedly than boys' as late adolescence approaches. A substantial number of youths work after school. The number of hours worked per week varies somewhat with economic need. Available research suggests that youths should better delineate the appropriate number of hours per week that they can devote to a job. Excessive work activity can interfere with school performance and deter career attainment.

A sizeable number of youths take part in church groups and synagogue groups. However, the total hours per week devoted to this activity are few. Large numbers of adolescents participate in the programs of national youth organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Boys Clubs and Girls Clubs, and 4-H Clubs. In general, the youth membership of these organizations has stabilized during the last decade. For some organizations, however, it has declined noticeably. Large numbers of adolescents also participate in youth service programs that are sponsored by local governments, schools, and private organizations. Some of these programs take place during the school year and earn credit toward a degree. Others occur after school. Even others entail full-time service during the summer.

A substantial portion of adolescents' leisure is spent in informal, unorganized activities such as watching television, playing at video arcades, listening to music, visiting shopping malls, and reading. These activities may take place either with friends or on a solitary basis. A substantial amount of time also is spent at concerts and sporting events. In addition, youths spend a considerable portion of their "leisure" time at libraries.

Limited evidence suggests that for-profit and nonprofit leisure services for adolescents may be distributed disproportionately by socioeconomic strata. They may be less readily available and less accessible in lower-class or working class communities and more prevalent in middle-class and upper-class communities. Statistical data regarding adolescents' leisure activities need to be improved significantly. Few consistent guidelines are followed by all youth service agencies. The available data about adolescent leisure behavior yields "averages" that hardly, if at all, depict with accuracy the leisure profiles of any specific group of youths in any particular region of the country. Detailed local need analyses are necessary before effective programs for adolescents can be designed and implemented for any given community.

Few community and regional master plans guide the delivery of leisure programs for adolescents. In fact, for-profit and non-profit agencies often compete for the same youth clientele. Modest reductions in the time that adolescents spend in informal or solitary activities could afford significant opportunities for them to engage in programs that offer community service and other forms of meaningful social interaction with peers and adults. To be of interest and of value to adolescents, many programs will need to be redesigned or revitalized. Professional youth leaders will need to be hired in increasing numbers. Promising program innovations will have to be identified and expanded. This can be achieved optimally only if coordinated planning takes place at the local, regional and national levels and if adequate funds are made available for the requisite programs.

Frameworks, Empirical Generalizations, and Assumptions

The available literature reveals few linkages between extant theories of youth development and the formulation of actual policies and leisure programs for adolescents. There are, however, a number of limited empirical generalizations and theoretical frames of reference that provide the underlying assumptions for many leisure programs. A representative sampling follows.

Adolescents are likely to select preferred leisure activities on the basis of their respective rewards, costs and outcomes when considered in the light of available alternatives.

This formulation is predicated upon the basic principles of social exchange theory (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). It has been employed extensively to examine family behavior and, also, to analyze leisure activity. Carlson (1979), for example, has set forth a number of postulates about recreation that are derived from this theoretical framework. To illustrate:

- The greater the net reward realized from a recreation activity or set of activities in the past, the more frequently that activity or set of activities will be chosen from among alternatives in the future.
- The more often a recreational activity or set of activities results in a high net reward, the more frequently the activity or set of activities will be engaged in.
- The greater the expectations of the individual exceed the alternatives available for a particular recreational activity, the more frequently the

activity will be engaged in.

- Given voluntary behavior, the more frequently a recreational activity is engaged in, the more likely a point of diminishing returns will be met and the net reward will decrease.
- The greater the investments in a particular style of recreational activities, the narrower the range of alternatives available to an individual or group.
- The greater the discretionary time and income for individuals, the greater the recreational goods and services.
- The higher the socioeconomic level of the family, the wider the range of recreational alternatives available to its members.
- The greater the opportunity to engage in a recreational activity or set of activities, the more likely that activity or set of activities will become a part of the individual's recreation choices.
- The wider the range of recreational alternatives for parents, the more likely children will be socialized into a wide range of recreational activities.

- The greater the number of nonfamily reference groups, the greater the possibility of socialization into a wide range of recreational activities.

Leisure groups can offer a wide range of protective factors that are able to reduce youths' risk for behavioral and emotional problems.

Research has identified numerous factors that are associated with reduced risk for behavior disorders. Among the foremost are positive social relationships with conventional peers (Feldman, Wodarski & Caplinger, 1983; Friday & Hage, 1976), the ability to contribute functionally to peer group activities (Feldman, 1969), social competence (Garmezy, Masten & Tellegen, 1984), the availability of friends and adult counselors (Werner & Smith, 1982), and regular participation in activity groups. A multivariate study of 306 children of mentally ill parents found, for example, that 40% of the variance in children's behavior problems was explained by the presence of two environmental stressors (the proportion of mentally ill family members and mother-child discord), two coping skills (competence in activities and school competence), and an interaction between the proportion of mentally ill family members and activity competence. Children's competence in small group activities helped to diminish the adverse effects of being reared in families with a large proportion of mentally ill individuals.

To the extent that leisure activities strengthen or complement the requirements of other roles that are important for adolescent development, they are likely to promote satisfactory developmental outcomes for adolescents.

This supposition derives in large part from Coleman's (1978) "focal theory" of adolescent development. It underlies many current conceptualizations of leisure programming (Bammel & Burris-Bammel, 1982; Kelly, 1982). Limited longitudinal evidence suggests that adolescents who engage in community service activities are more likely to be active in voluntary associations and as voters when they progress into adulthood (Hanks & Eckland, 1978). Likewise, hobbies and cultural interests that are developed during adolescence may serve as leisure pursuits or, even, as career interests when one becomes an adult (Otto, 1975). They are likely to be conducive toward educational attainment and occupational attainment (Otto & Alwin, 1977; Otto, 1976) and, especially in the case of females, toward happiness at midlife (Glancy, Willits & Farrell, 1986). When adolescent leisure participation relates to adult success and happiness, the strength of these associations compares favorably with the effects of parent's education, father's occupation, and high school grade point average, all of which are generally assumed to have an important impact on youths' development (Glancy, Willits & Farrell, 1986).

Leisure activities that link together families and peers are especially likely to promote positive development.

Numerous studies have reported that both families and peers play a crucial role in adolescent development. Advances in conceptualization and research methodology have demonstrated even more that there are crucial interactive relationships between these variables. Thus, Rutter (1979) has found that family factors such as marital discord interact with peer relationships in order to determine the likelihood of behavior disorder on the part of a child. Garmezy (1985) has noted how children's personal coping skills, supportive family milieus, and community supports interact to protect youths against risk. Similarly, Feldman, Stiffman and Jung (1987) have shown how adverse familial risk factors such as marital discord and a large number of mentally ill persons in the family can be countervailed by children's competence in activity groups. And, Rae-Grant et al. (1989) have demonstrated that the adverse effects of risk factors such as family problems and parental problems can be offset substantially by the presence of protective factors like getting along with others, good friendships, and competence in such activities as sports, music, dance, art and hobbies. The latter investigators have proposed that family-centered programs be incorporated increasingly into community facilities. Their data suggest further that such activities are especially helpful for adolescents from lower socioeconomic strata.

Peer influence is comparatively strong in early and middle adolescence; it wanes in potency during late adolescence.

Peer influence -- whether in formal or informal groups -- is relatively strong throughout adolescence. Nevertheless, a variety of longitudinal and cross-sectional studies demonstrate that it tends to be most pervasive and influential from approximately 10 through 16 years of age both in the United States (Feldman, 1972, 1973) and in England (Smith, 1987). By contrast, family influence tends to be strongest during pre-adolescence and early adolescence. By eighth grade, adolescents' orientations toward family and peers are of about equal strength. By tenth grade, peer influence is more determinate in many areas. Yet, even in mid-adolescence and late adolescence youths tend to identify more readily with their parents than with their peers concerning such matters as educational aspirations and religious values. In contrast, peers tend more readily to influence such behaviors as substance abuse and delinquency (Kandel & Lesser, 1969; Kandel, 1973; Radosevich et al., 1978).

Group activities are most productive for high-risk youths when they are supervised by trained professionals and adults.

Adolescents who are well along the road toward normal social, psychological and behavioral development fare well in leisure groups that are comprised merely of their well-adjusted peers. Adults are needed for assistance to such groups only when special types of expertise are necessary. However, adult supervision usually is advisable for groups of adolescents who are at high-risk for behavioral or emotional disorders (Rae-Grant et al., 1989) and, especially, when large numbers of group members exhibit such disorders. Untrained group leaders can inadvertently contribute to heightened incidences of maladaptive behavior. Trained leaders, in contrast, are more able to promote constructive, prosocial behavior (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983). Furthermore, their expertise often enables prosocial peers to serve as constructive change agents for group members who may be inclined toward antisocial behavior.

Interaction between youths from varying backgrounds can promote greater mutual understanding, tolerance, and constructive peer influence.

Research suggests that leisure-oriented social interaction between youths from different backgrounds can promote improved social relations. Thus, integrated classrooms and activity groups often promote tolerance for one's peers (Bullock, 1978). Likewise, activity groups often provide increases in reciprocal liking, shared goal attainment, and shared norms (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983). Such outcomes are most likely when trained adults supervise or lead the pertinent groups.

Activity programs for youths who exhibit conduct disorders should begin at an early age and should focus especially upon peer relations.

Numerous studies demonstrate that one of the best predictors of adult criminal behavior or mental illness is the manifestation of childhood antisocial behavior (Robins, 1966, 1972, 1978; Kazdin, 1987). This is especially the case when childhood problem behaviors occur frequently and in a wide variety of social contexts (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983; Rutter & Giller, 1984) and when they commence during preadolescence or early adolescence (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1981; Farrington, 1979; Loeber, 1982, 1985; Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972). Resultant problems in adulthood may include psychiatric impairment (including antisocial personality and alcohol and drug abuse); high rates of driving while intoxicated; criminal behavior, arrest records, and convictions; shorter histories of employment; low status jobs and more frequent changes of jobs; increased use of public assistance; higher rates of hospitalization; increased mortality rates; and, higher rates of divorce, remarriage and separation (Kazdin, 1987). Related outcomes include reduced contact with relatives, neighbors and friends and less participation in community organizations. Interventions that can alter the emergence of maladaptive "careers" should commence in early adolescence if not before. In particular, they should focus upon adolescents' ability to build constructive social relationships with well-adjusted peers.

Leisure activities such as team sports are more likely to produce peer group cohesion and reciprocal liking than are "It" games, free swimming, and similar activities.

Nearly all types of leisure activities are capable of yielding benefits for the youths who take part in them. Even those that do not call for social interaction with peers (such as stamp collecting and playing video games) can enhance motor development and substantive learning. Virtually all activities can lend relaxation and diversity to one's experiences. Yet, most youths tend to prefer sports and games more than solitary activities (Smith, 1987). Team sports are more likely to generate reciprocal liking and friendships among peers than are activities such as "It" games and free swimming (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983). Variations may occur with regard to age and gender, however. Thus, early adolescent girls prefer swimming more than team sports. In contrast, early adolescent and middle adolescent boys prefer team games (Smith, 1987; Garton & Cartmel, 1986). This is especially so for working class boys. Organized games and sports tend to remain of high interest for boys age 11 through 16 years but they diminish in attraction for girls. Activities with the opposite sex become of increasing interest by age 15 or 16 but considerably more so for adolescent girls than boys.

Cultural and subcultural variations exist in the use of leisure time by adolescents.

Certain trends regarding the use of leisure time are similar within different cultures. Thus, increased peer-group orientation and a growing interest in group activities during early and middle adolescence has been observed in England (Smith, 1987), Australia (Gorton & Pratt, 1987), and the United States (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983). Nevertheless, a cross-cultural study of school dropouts (Biddle et al., 1981) has shown that Australian and American youths who quit secondary school use their leisure time in different ways. Australian school leavers typically spend their extra time in sports or recreation. By contrast, American dropouts report more visiting, loafing and problem behaviors. The investigators posit that these differences reflect the differential structuring of available activities for youths in the two societies rather than national differences in leisure preferences. They suggest further that some of the deleterious consequences that are presumed to follow from dropping out in America reflect the daily social experiences of dropouts in this country more than the act of quitting school.

Frameworks, Empirical Generalizations, and Assumptions: Summary

Few leisure alternatives for youths are predicated upon systematic theoretical formulations. Rather, they are based primarily upon philosophical or religious values (e.g., church and synagogue youth groups); the desire to improve youths' physical fitness (e.g., sports programs), cognitive abilities (e.g., study groups and hobby clubs), or social competence (e.g., friendship clubs and social groups); and, efforts to involve adolescents in the work force (e.g., apprenticeships and job training programs) or in community service (e.g., Scouting programs and public youth service groups).

Formal leisure programs sometimes are based upon limited empirical generalizations. More often, however, they are based on untested assumptions and suppositions. It is generally assumed that well-run youth groups can provide effective protections for at-risk youths. They offer the presence of prosocial peers, access to peer and adult helpers, and opportunities for personal growth and development. In general, it is recognized that peer-based programs are of greatest interest and influence during early and middle adolescence. Leisure activities that call for heterosexual contact are of greater interest in middle adolescence and late adolescence. During these stages of adolescence, team sports and games are of particular interest to youths. Moreover, they tend to conduce toward cooperative, prosocial behavior.

Both parents and peers play an influential role in development throughout adolescence. Even though social attachments to parents diminish as youths progress through adolescence, they still wish to retain significant contact with them and to regard them as important sources for personal identification and norm-setting in selected areas of behavior. In late adolescence, same-sex peer affiliations decline and cross-age affiliations increase in attractiveness and frequency. Relatively few formal leisure programs link parents and peers together even though it is recognized that compatible relations between these groups are especially facilitative for adolescent development.

Noteworthy cultural and subcultural variations exist in the use of leisure time. More time is devoted to sports by working class youths. Hispanic youths devote more time than Anglo youths to television viewing. White youths are more likely to have paid jobs than are African-American youths. Yet, these variations also may reflect such factors as the decreased availability of two-parent families for certain categories of youths, increased incidences of working mothers, reduced employment opportunities, and lessened community availability of such leisure alternatives as public libraries, after-school programs, and for-profit and non-profit youth service agencies. To be of optimum utility, leisure services must be located increasingly in communities where potent environmental stressors confront adolescents, where needed protective factors are weak, and where youths' personal coping skills tend to be poorly developed.

Roles for Parents, Peers and Other Adults

Parents, peers, and other adults can play constructive roles in adolescents' leisure activities. Research by Elder (1975) suggests that modern society is witnessing increased age segregation marked by a decline in the time that adolescents and adults spend together, an increase in the importance of the peer group, and a larger variety of nonfamilial socializing agencies such as schools and mass media. Nonetheless, it is evident that parents remain the primary source of influence in certain areas of adolescent comportment such as religious orientations, educational goals, and career aspirations (Otto, 1976). Peers, in contrast, tend to be more influential in shaping attitudes and behavior regarding such phenomena as substance abuse, teen pregnancy and delinquent behavior (Radosevich et al., 1978; Kandel, 1973; Chilman, 1985; Erickson & Jensen, 1977).

The post-World War II increase in single-parent families and in families where both parents work suggests that the need for shared leisure opportunities between parents and youths is greater than ever before. As the birth rate drops and as mature adults increasingly outnumber the declining number of youths in the adolescent age range, children in the next few decades may be spread out over a greater number of families than before and more children than in the past will be reared by inexperienced parents (Risley, Clark & Cataldo, 1976). Hence, effective community resources will be especially needed in order to enhance adolescent development.

Roles for Parents and Family Members

One of the most compelling needs in leisure recreation is for effective and diversified family-based activities. Church and synagogue groups are among the foremost institutions that offer such activities on a regular basis. Perhaps the most extensive and institutionalized of these is the family-oriented approach taken by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons). Among other ways, this church promotes "wholesome recreation" as a part of its religious creed by setting aside one weekday evening as a Family Activity Night (Thorstenson, 1984). Families are free to choose the activity that they desire, but are encouraged to engage in varied and challenging activities that appeal to all age groups. To assist them, a comprehensive Family Resource Manual is available to every family. So that each family can emphasize different activities, the Manual includes such recreational choices as physical activities, cultural activities, social activities, family enrichment (e.g., first aid, food storage, and home repairs), nature activities, and discovery and intellectual activities. Each church parish has a small activities committee that helps families to develop their cultural and physical activities. Exemplary programs are disseminated to other such committees on a yearly basis. In addition, parish churches usually provide a gymnasium and a library with free family-oriented videotapes and reading materials. Churches, as well as a number of educational institutions, also have sponsored family camps for parents and their children. Some have introduced programming that focuses upon teaching or reinforcing selected values (Hart, 1984) while others concentrate upon sports, skills development, or cultural and educational learning such as introduced in 1874 by the Chautauqua movement (Edginton & Cannon, 1984).

In some cases, family recreation programs have been introduced under the aegis of federal agencies. For instance, Canada's national family recreation program, known as Together is Better, was created by the Canadian Parks and Recreation Association in order to provide exciting and appealing family leisure opportunities in the 1980s (Harper & Searle, 1984). Whereas most recreational programs emphasize individual activity or parallel participation, this program emphasizes joint activities that require a high degree of interaction among family members. Examples include family picnics, group hikes, and family games. Information kits on activities such as kite-making, backyard camping, hiking, and tracing family trees are distributed nationally. A major marketing campaign gives the overall program a central focus and creates high visibility. Likewise, television promotions and newspaper and magazine articles, as well as an original radio theme song, urge nationwide participation. A national campaign has promoted activities such as "garden together," "play together," "create together," and "discover together." Concurrently, local agencies have distributed resource materials at shopping malls and have publicized information about local happenings, resources, and special projects.

The widespread introduction of personal computers is bound to exert a profound impact on leisure behavior. Computers will enable parents to serve more ably as leisure counselors for their children. It will be increasingly possible to employ modem attachments to telephone lines in order to gain access to data bases about vacation spots, family games, and leisure and counselling resources (Edwards, 1984).

Parenting expertise in many areas, including the provision of leisure counseling and the use of leisure activities to promote adolescent development, can benefit greatly from the introduction of appropriate parent training programs. It is important, however, that such programs proceed substantially beyond the popularized programs that often attract the attention of the mass media. They must be based upon carefully designed parenting methods that have been subjected to empirical scrutiny and to subsequent revision and refinement (cf., for instance, Patterson, 1982, 1984; Phillips, Wolf, Fixsen & Bailey, 1975).

Roles for Peers

The in situ study conducted by Csikszentmihalyi, Larson and Prescott (1977) found that the most prevalent adolescent activity is conversation with peers. This accounts for nearly one-third of adolescents' waking hours. Both quantitatively and qualitatively the main context of socialization for adolescents is peer interaction. This interaction approaches a peak during early and middle adolescence.

The degree to which an adolescent is able to make friends and have an accepting peer group is a major indicator of how well he or she will successfully adjust in other areas of social and psychological development (Hartup, 1977; Loeber, 1981). Peers can provide standards against which adolescents compare and evaluate themselves. They present alternative values, attitudes, and behaviors for adolescents and can offer a protective setting within which one can assess current values and establish independence from parents. Furthermore, they offer meaningful opportunities for experimenting with heterosexual relationships.

Whether adolescents turn to peers or to parents for support and guidance depends on the quality of their relationships with each, and on the extent to which one group or the other can offer expertise, legitimacy and rewards. When the quality of parent-adolescent interaction is poor, the attraction and influence of the peer group is higher, and vice versa (Iacovetta, 1975).

Peer groups are especially influential with regard to their ability to promote either antisocial or prosocial behavior on the part of adolescents. As Ingersoll (1989) has observed, there is ample research evidence that attests to adolescents' willingness to engage in behaviors that are self-injurious or which cause injury to others when their friends engage in the same behaviors. This holds true especially with regard to such behaviors as drug and alcohol abuse (Loeber & Dishion, 1984), teen pregnancy (Chilman, 1985; Sachs, Keller and Hinkle, 1984), school dropout (Rumberger, 1987), and delinquency (Kazdin, 1987).

A study that analyzed nine investigations of official delinquency on the part of 19,414 youths found that in 85% of the cases the violation involved more than a lone juvenile offender. This phenomenon obtained both for minor offenses, such as property destruction (Erickson, 1973), and for more serious delinquency (Erickson & Jensen, 1977). Hirschi (1969) found that 75% of boys with four or more close friends who had been picked up by the police had committed delinquent acts. Among boys who had no delinquent friends, only slightly more than 25% had committed such acts during the same time period. Likewise, interviews with 1,320 Canadian delinquents revealed that they typically spent 33.6% of their waking hours in association with other delinquents; in contrast, a nondelinquent sample spent only 5.3% of their time in this fashion (Murphy & Shinyei, 1976).

Available research indicates that the mere presence of delinquent friends is positively and independently related to the likelihood of subsequent deviance (Jensen, 1976). Among the key dynamics that underlie the influence of antisocial peers are selective peer reinforcement for antisocial behavior (Solomon & Wahler, 1973) and antisocial role modeling (Baron, 1977; Biddle, Bank & Marlin, 1980). These factors are particularly determinate when adolescents who are unattended after school (so-called "latchkey children") interact with their peers. Research evidence strongly suggests that such youths are more susceptible to peer pressure when they are not subject to adult supervision (Steinberg, 1986).

Importantly, the same dynamics that promote negative forms of peer influence can also be employed in order to promote positive adolescent behavior. This can be achieved most readily when an adolescent's behavioral problems are relatively minor or when they merely require the acquisition of certain types of information. In these instances, programs such as peer tutoring (Blaney et al., 1977) and peer counseling (Varenhorst, 1974; Hamburg, 1980; Giddan & Austin, 1982) can be used to good advantage. Similarly, peer therapists can be employed for the remediation of minor behavior disorders (Colletti & Harris, 1977). Available evidence suggests that both the tutors and the target children experience benefits from these endeavors. Programs have been particularly successful when they entail integrating, or mainstreaming, youths with physical or behavioral disabilities into normal classroom and recreational settings (Guralnick, 1976; Cooke, Apolloni & Cooke, 1977; Deno, 1973; Pumphrey, Goodman & Flax, 1969; Ziegler & Hambleton, 1976; Bradfield et al., 1973).

In contrast, peer-based "therapy" programs for adolescents often have been regarded as failures (Koshel, 1973; McCord, 1978; Berleman, Seaberg & Steinman, 1972; Wright & Dixon, 1977). This is attributable largely to the fact that the pertinent change efforts have been attempted in groups that are comprised wholly of antisocial peers and that are located in institutions denoted primarily as correctional or mental health settings. The latter tend to be stigmatizing for the youths who take part in them.

To overcome such barriers against effective peer group treatment, one large-scale field study[6] employed a multifactorial research design to examine the effects of peer interventions with 701 youths at a midwestern community center (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983). A 2 x 3 x 3 factorial design included males 8 to 17 years who were referred to the agency for antisocial behavior (referred youths) or who normally attended the center's regular activity programs and were not identified as showing problem behavior (nonreferred youths). The study evaluated the effects of three types of treatment, two levels of leader experience, and three different ways to compose peer groups.

The three treatment methods were traditional social group work (focusing on group processes and the modification of group norms), behavior modification (use of reinforcement contingencies), and minimal treatment (no explicit application of treatment interventions). Activity groups within the community center were randomly assigned to one of these three interventions. The groups were led either by experienced leaders (graduate students in social work with previous group work experience) or inexperienced leaders (undergraduate students with no group work experience). The peer groups were comprised in three ways. Some were "referred" groups in which all of the members had been referred to the agency for antisocial behavior. Some were "nonreferred" groups comprised only of "normal" agency members who had no known evidence of antisocial behavior. And, some were "mixed," or "integrated," groups consisting of one or two referred youths and seven or more non-referred youths. Measures were obtained from parents, referral agents, the children, group leaders, and trained nonparticipant observers. The interventions were conducted over an eight-month period. The youths attended two-hour group sessions once per week and engaged in a broad range of activities (e.g., sports, arts and crafts, fundraising, and discussions). The specific treatments were superimposed on the usual activity structure of the community center.

The greatest reductions in antisocial behavior and the largest gains in prosocial behavior were exhibited by referred youths in mixed groups that were led by experienced leaders. Importantly, no adverse effects were observed for the nonreferred subjects who had been exposed to antisocial youths for nearly a year. Inexperienced leaders fared less well. Integrated groups that were led by inexperienced leaders neither improved nor deteriorated significantly with regard to their antisocial behavior. In the referred groups that were led by them, however, the extent of antisocial behavior exhibited by youths increased substantially. Hence, in mixed groups the constructive influence of prosocial peers tended to offset the deficits of inexperienced leaders. This was not possible in groups that were comprised solely of antisocial peers.

This study and others suggest the efficacy of employing community centers and neighborhood houses as settings for peer-group programs and, moreover, of integrating small numbers of antisocial peers into activity groups comprised essentially of normal prosocial peers. At the same time, it highlights the wisdom of employing trained professionals as group leaders when high-risk or seriously troubled youths are involved. The advantages of such programs include the fact that they take place in nonstigmatizing community-based agencies, constructive behavioral changes are readily generalized to the youths' natural environments, and program costs are exceedingly low vis-a-vis other types of intervention programs.[8]

Competence in group activities was also shown to be an important protective factor for 306 high-risk youths with mentally ill parents (Feldman, Stiffman & Jung, 1987). Activity competence can offset the adverse effects of important risk factors for childhood behavior disorder. It has been found, for example, that youths who reside in families with a high proportion of mentally ill family members are prone to behavior disorders when their activity competence is low. However, such youths fare well if they exhibit high activity competence. This capability on a youth's part appears to be much more important in assuring mental health than other presumably important factors such as school grades and I.Q. Membership in peer activity groups also is useful in countervailing the intense sense of social isolation that often antecedes suicidal behavior on the part of youths (Farberow, 1989). Gay and lesbian youths (Gibson, 1989), runaway youths (Duva & Raley, 1988), and African-American, Hispanic-American and American Indian youths (Huffine, 1989) are especially at risk in this regard. Likewise, youths who have been discharged from mental health programs are at high risk for suicide primarily because they have less adequate peer relations than other youths (Pfeffer, 1989).

Peer-based programs are especially influential when an adolescent's family structure is weak or when adolescents do not readily identify with their father. One study found that fewer than one-third of inner-city African-American youths mentioned their father as a positive source of influence over their lives; an almost equal number characterized the father's influence as largely negative, or expressed an attitude of indifference toward him (Taylor, 1989). Instead, the major source of influence and identification for most of these youths was the peer group. The tendency of low-income and minority youths to become deeply involved in their peer groups also has been noted by a number of investigators (Glasgow, 1980; Williams & Kornblum, 1985).

The development of strong peer group affiliations sometimes has been attributed to a breakdown in parental authority, to early dependency on siblings and peers as caretakers (as opposed to adults), and to conflicting normative expectations from adults in low-income communities (Taylor, 1989). While the emotional support, encouragement, and guidance of parents are essential in any strategy directed toward improving the life chances of inner-city youths, such efforts are likely to be insufficient in the absence of well-conceived programs designed to increase these youths' social skills and their prospects for employment and self-sufficiency through better education and training.

Roles for Parents and Peers Together

One of the most persistent debates in the social sciences pertains to the respective influences of parents and peers on the behaviors, attitudes, and aspirations of adolescents. Following his landmark research on adolescent subculture, for example, Coleman (1961) asserted that youths are more attuned to peer influences than to parental expectations. Subsequently, he suggested that reductions in the size and functions of families resulted in more socialization taking place outside of families and in social structures that are unrelated to them, such as the school and the peer group (1976). Yet, in a study that critiqued the validity of Coleman's earlier conclusions, Epperson (1964) found that concern for parental disapproval was greater among youths than was concern for peer disapproval.

Friday and Hage (1976) examined this matter by studying key factors that cause youths to rely either on family members or on delinquency-supporting peers. They considered the general role relationships that are available to youths and how these subsequently affect their integration into society. Five major patterns of role relationships were identified: (1) kin relationships, (2) community or neighborhood, (3) school, (4) work, and (5) peers not otherwise defined by the four others. When there was little intimacy in the first four contexts, they found peer group relationships to be especially potent. Thus, as adolescents spent more time with peers they became isolated from other socializing agents and began to develop criminal tendencies. Indeed, Friday and Hage found a strong negative correlation (-.81) between interaction in the family and interaction with friends. Hence, with particular reference to delinquent activity, a weak familial relationship seems to foreshadow heightened reliance upon one's peer group.

With specific reference to antisocial and aggressive behavior, a classic study by McCord and McCord (1958) has shown that children of criminal fathers are more likely to become delinquent than children of noncriminal fathers. When both parents are criminal, a child's chances of embarking upon a delinquent career are cumulative. In a longitudinal study of black urban families, Robins and Wish (1977) and Robins, West and Herjanic (1975) found that almost half of the boys whose father had been arrested were delinquent (45%), compared with only 9% who had a father with no arrest record. For boys and girls alike, the best predictor of delinquency was the previous arrest of both parents: one-half of such youths were delinquent. Furthermore, if the father had once been a juvenile delinquent this figure increased to 60%. And, if both parents had been delinquent, it increased to 67%. Even more striking, male subjects with three or more delinquent siblings and with parents who had been delinquent turned out to be delinquent in 100% of the cases studied. Hence, adolescents who are exposed to deviant peer models as well as to criminal adult models are at maximum risk for subsequent delinquency.

But, what about youths who are exposed to peers and parents who exhibit conflicting behavioral patterns? Under such circumstances antisocial behavior may be more readily influenced by peer modeling. In a study of law-violating behavior, for example, Kandel (1973) reported that 56% of a sample of teenagers used marijuana if their best friends used it, even though their parents refrained from psychoactive drugs. In contrast, only 17% used marijuana when their best friends did not use it, even though their parents consumed psychoactive drugs. Likewise, studies by Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce and Radosevich (1979), Jessor, Jessor and Finney (1973), and Radosevich, Lanza-Kaduce, Akers, and Krohn (1978) have concluded that the strongest predictor of adolescent alcohol and marijuana use is one's association with using friends. Related findings have also emerged from the research of Biddle et al. (1980); Burkett (1977); Burkett and Jensen (1975); Dembo, Schmeidler and Koval (1976); Ginsberg and Greenley (1978); Hindelang (1976); Johnstone (1978); and Lawrence and Velleman (1974). Similarly, Siman (1977) found that peers are more influential than parents at fostering antisocial behaviors such as using bad language, playing hookey, hurting someone, and doing something illegal. In contrast, parents are as influential as peers, or more so, with regard to behaviors such as helping someone, doing useful work for the community with no pay, and doing school work. Analogous findings have been reported in studies by Burlingame (1967) and by Condry and Siman (1974).

With reference to youths' antisocial and delinquent behavior, then, it appears that peer groups are substantially more influential than parents. The peer group assumes prepotency when parents are passive or neglecting (Condry & Siman, 1974), when they disagree with one another concerning appropriate behavioral standards for the child (McCord & McCord, 1958), when the quality of adolescent-adult interaction deteriorates, and when parents consciously or inadvertently reject the child (Bandura & Walters, 1969). The latter phenomenon is presumed to be more prevalent in lower-class families than in middle-class ones (Williamson, 1976). Moreover, children clearly are at maximum risk when both of their major reference groups (that is, parents and peers) reinforce or model deviant behavior (Carroll, 1977; Goldberg, 1976; Peterson & Becker, 1965; Robins, West & Herjanic, 1975).

In perhaps the most rigorous study of its kind, Linden and Hackler (1973) posited that four major variables are associated with male delinquency. Each refers to the relationship between the delinquent youth and his peer or parental associates: (1) closeness (or attachment) of the youth to each of his associates, (2) visibility of the youth's behavior to each of his associates, (3) responsiveness (or approval) of one's associates, and (4) the behavioral preferences of associates. The latter variable determines the direction of the associates' influence, while the first three determine the strength of their influence.

The investigators interviewed 200 working-class boys who ranged in age from 13 to 15 years. Data were obtained regarding self-reported delinquency, closeness of ties to parents, closeness of ties to delinquent peers, and closeness of ties to conventional (that is, nondelinquent) peers. The findings clearly dramatize the effects of competing peer group influences on adolescents' behavior. The greatest proportion of delinquency was found among subjects with weak ties to conventional associates but with moderate or strong ties to deviant peers; 58.3% of this group was delinquent. The absence of strong ties with any group also was associated with delinquent behavior. Nearly 43% of boys with weak or nonexistent ties to adults or peers (be they conventional or delinquent) considered themselves delinquent. Boys who had ties to conventional peers and adults but not to deviant peers were the least delinquent (15.2%).

These data are especially illuminating when one considers boys who had weak or nonexistent ties to parents. In such instances, ties with conventional peers largely offset the disposition toward delinquency. But, among subjects who reported moderate or strong ties to deviant peers and only weak or nonexistent ties to conventional peers, more than half were delinquent. However, if moderate or strong ties with deviant peers were countervailed by concurrent moderate or strong ties with conventional peers, the incidence dropped to 26.3%. Importantly, 42.9% of the subjects reported delinquent behavior when they had weak or nonexistent ties with deviant peers and weak or nonexistent ties with conventional ones. But this figure dropped to 25% for boys who had weak or nonexistent ties to deviant peers and moderate or strong ties to conventional peers.

Hence, it appears that the untoward influence of deviant peers can be neutralized largely by providing youths with opportunities for meaningful social relationships with conventional peers. Contrary to traditional folk wisdom, it is not necessary to isolate a youth from his regular peer group -- even if it is a delinquent one -- in order to reduce his susceptibility to a delinquent career. Nor is it essential to launch intervention programs that are directed toward predelinquents' immediate peer groups or subcultures. Instead, antisocial behavior can be mitigated by providing youths with meaningful opportunities for social interaction with conventional peers. Optimum benefits will accrue, however, when both peers and parents can work together in order to enhance the prospects for at-risk youths.

Programs such as family camps and church-based family nights offer the potential to link parents, peers and adolescents in meaningful ways. In local neighborhoods and communities, however, a less expensive and more accessible alternative might entail programs such as the YMCA Y-Winners Program (Sutton, 1984). This program enables parents and peers to take part in regularly scheduled activities such as soccer, aquatics, volleyball, hockey, baseball, football, basketball, and orienteering. It attempts to foster situations that encourage the family to participate and interact as a unit. This typically is achieved by means of a five-step program. First, a family sign-up and orientation takes place so that parents and children alike understand the objectives and implementation of the program. The orientation session demonstrates skills that are to be practiced together at home by the parents and child. Second, a mid-season event brings together the participating families and youths. This may include attendance at a collegiate or professional sporting event, a picnic, or a related activity. Third, a "family huddle" occurs in which the entire family by itself takes part in an activity that is related to the sport in which the youth is participating. This can be a movie, discussion or another activity that disengages the family from outside distractions. Fourth, families are encouraged to attend practices and games as a group in order to share the highs and lows that are experienced by their children. And, fifth, an end-of-season celebration brings together the participating families and peers to honor equally all of the youths who have engaged in the given activity.

Roles for Other Adults

Substantial assistance to youth programs can be provided by a wide range of adults. These can be volunteers, school teachers, or professional helpers such as social workers, guidance counselors, leisure counselors, and recreation leaders. Unpaid volunteer work is extensive in the United States. The Older Women's League, for instance, estimates that the value of women's unpaid work in America is $515 billion annually, more than twice that of men (Oleson, 1989). As Nightingale and Wolverton (1988) have noted, in 1890 youths 14-24 years of age numbered only 1.4 million while their proportion to the population aged 25-64 was 70%. In 1990, the projected population aged 14-24 will be approximately 41.1 million but its proportion to the 25-64 year-old population will be only 36%. As the proportion of adolescents decreases relative to older citizens, the latter will become more readily available to serve as guides, helpers and role models for the younger population. Many will become involved in intergenerational programs.

Most intergenerational programs are oriented toward younger children who have not yet entered adolescence, e.g., Big Brothers, Big Sisters and Foster Grandparents. Among the innovative intergenerational programs that involve older adolescents are such projects as Channel One (Allen, 1986). This is a food co-op operated in Rochester, Minnesota by senior citizens and high school students. More than 375 senior citizens shop at the co-op each week. The program enables youths to provide a substantial service for elderly persons. Other intergenerational programs enable the elderly to directly help adolescents who are at high-risk for such problems as dropping out of school, teen pregnancy, and delinquency. Retired persons have served as one-to-one mentors who find and monitor private-sector jobs for jail-bound youngsters (IUE/Work Connection, Saugus, MA), educators and counselors for pregnant teens (Teenage Parent Alternative Program, Lincoln Park, MI), trainers for teenage parents in families where child abuse has occurred (Family Dynamics, Brooklyn, NY), and educational tutors (Teaching-Learning Communities Mentors Program, Ann Arbor, MI, and Project Star/School Volunteers, Boston, MA).[7]

Creative leisure programs for youths can be provided in large numbers by many types of professionals. Librarians, for instance, have implemented a cultural/educational program known as "Levels" for adolescents in Great Neck, Long Island (Marx, 1989). Social workers now implement outdoor adventure counseling programs for adolescents (Marx, 1988), programs that are conducted jointly by family service agencies and public recreation departments (Brown, 1986), and programs for high-risk adolescents in community centers (Feldman, 1987). Public school teachers, too, can offer a broad range of innovative programs. The Plymouth (Massachusetts) Alternative Educational Project, for example, has established high school and middle-school Student Services Centers and Student Activities Centers for high-risk adolescents. The latter may yield such beneficial outcomes as enhanced academic performance, decreased alienation, and increased practical knowledge (Cook, 1984). Teachers also have supervised and guided students who serve as peer counselors for other youths (Kuhn & Pressman, 1980).

Roles for Parents, Peers and Other Adults: Summary

A large human resource pool exists for the provision of much-needed energy and expertise to leisure programs for adolescents. To the extent possible, programs should be established that draw upon and reinforce the socializing capabilities of parents. While the influence of parents may wane during the course of adolescence, most youths nevertheless still regard their parents as important norm-setters and sources of identification. Churches, community centers, family service agencies and work places can renew and revitalize their commitment to provide such programs. Increasingly complex work place demands require that the productivity and satisfaction of adult workers be improved by helping them to address crucial parenting and leisure needs for their children.

Abundant evidence points to the utility of drawing upon peer groups to enhance the quality of leisure activities for adolescents. Peers can promote positive changes among adolescents by serving as tutors, counselors, and therapists for certain types of problems. However, close professional guidance must be present if peers are to work with high-risk adolescents. Integrated group activities that bring adolescents into contact with youths from different cultures or backgrounds and that engage small numbers of high-risk youths with large numbers of low-risk youths often can foster beneficial outcomes for the participants.

Optimum benefits are likely to be achieved when leisure activities bring together both the parents and the peers of adolescents. However, relatively few such programs exist on a formal basis. Noteworthy exceptions include family camps and parent-peer sports programs. Many opportunities exist for retirees, college students, and homemakers to provide volunteer services for adolescent leisure programs. It is widely assumed that intergenerational projects can yield beneficial outcomes both for the youths and the older adults who take part in them.

Much needed guidance and expertise for adolescent leisure programs also can be provided by a wide range of professionals including librarians, social workers, psychologists, leisure counselors, recreational leaders and school teachers. To achieve greater success, however, school-based programs must be much more expansive and innovative than heretofore. After-school programs will require added work for school personnel and increased expenditures for school budgets. To the extent possible, such programs should call upon specially trained teachers and upon professionals from relevant fields so that undue burdens are not imposed upon teachers.

Community Youth Service Programs

Community youth service programs typically link the resources of adolescents and the larger adult community. While many youth service programs are sponsored by schools, others have been initiated by local governments or under the aegis of nonprofit voluntary organizations. Each of these programs offers unique opportunities for adolescents to serve others and to improve their own technical and social competencies. The demands of such programs, the extent to which they permit or promote individual autonomy, and the extent to which they ultimately help youths to prepare for roles as mature workers, parents and citizens tend to increase in accord with the age of the participants and, also, with the extent to which they offer meaningful instrumental activity to the participants (Maton, in press).

About 4,000 youth service programs exist across the country (Schwartz, 1989). This includes more than 50 full-time youth service corps, 550 campus-based service programs, 3,000 school-based service programs, at least 50 organized community-based service corps and programs, and full-time federal service programs such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the all-volunteer military forces. Over the past two years the youth service movement has witnessed a great deal of activity. This has included a number of bills introduced in Congress, an evolving Presidential initiative, and the continued growth of youth service programs in many states and communities.

A number of key national organizations have sought in recent years to promote the development of voluntary community youth service programs. As Schwartz (1989) notes, these include Youth Service America (working with local programs and other national organizations since 1986 to unify and develop a nationwide youth service program network and public policy framework); Campus Compact and COOL (focusing on the development of campus-based programs); and, the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps and Public/Private Ventures (building full-time youth corps in states, counties and cities). Other organizations have addressed statewide and regional developments including PennSERVE, the National Youth Leadership Council, Thomas Jefferson Forum, Constitutional Rights Forum, SerVermont, the Maryland Student Service Alliance, Operation Civic Serve, the National Crime Prevention Council, Youth Service Charleston, and others. In addition, some federal offices such as the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary

Education and ACTION have been active.

The available research concerning the effects of community service programs upon adolescents pales in comparison to the actual numbers of youths involved in them. In part, this may be because their presumed salutary effects appear to be beyond question or because such programs typically yield very tangible products such as neater parks, refurbished buildings, and acquired skills on the part of the participants. The National Commission on Resources for Youth (1981) has urged more youth service programs for early adolescents as a vehicle to help them address important developmental tasks. It is assumed that such programs will yield the greatest benefits for adolescents when they feature work that meets a real community need while offering a chance to share in planning and decision-making, opportunities to work collaboratively with peers and adults, and time for reflection (Hamilton & Fenzel, 1988).

Schine (1989) has noted that the primary reason for promoting the involvement of adolescents in community service is to provide an opportunity for assuming meaningful roles, but, also, that the rationale for such involvement is multifaceted. Traditionally, Americans have depended upon volunteers for a wide range of services, for creative solutions to community problems, and for raising funds for social programs. The need for volunteer service continues unabated and may very well increase in the coming years.

Furthermore, Schine (1989) has noted that involvement in community service can meet many of the special needs of early adolescents. These include developing a sense of competence; testing and discovering new skills; discovering a place for themselves in the world and creating a vision of a personal future; participating in projects with tangible or visible outcomes; knowing a variety of adults and role models who represent different backgrounds and occupations; having the freedom to take part in the world of adults while also being free to retreat to a world of their peers; testing a developing value system in authentic situations; speaking and being heard in a way that establishes that they can make a difference; achieving recognition for their accomplishments; having opportunities to make real decisions within appropriate limits; and, receiving support and guidance from adults who appreciate their problems and their promise. Similarly, Lipsitz (1984) has suggested that early adolescents require assistance in dealing with the developmental challenges of forming a sense of identity, becoming committed to group ideals, developing personal autonomy, and becoming involved in increasingly intimate relationships. Participation in well run community service projects is capable of promoting all of these objectives.

Several studies of community service programs have found significant developmental benefits for the participants. Thus, in a study of ten such programs, Conrad and Hedin (1981) observed psychological, social and intellectual growth in the participants that was not found in control groups. Similarly, an examination of community service programs by Newmann and Rutter (1983) found that the student participants gained a sense of greater social competence and responsibility to the larger community. More recently, a study of 84 adolescents, ranging in age from 11 to 17 years, found that participation in 12 different Youth Volunteer projects in New York State counties resulted in modest gains on a measure of social responsibility and in the participants' belief that they acquired new skills and greater knowledge about themselves (Hamilton & Fenzel, 1988).

A study by the William T. Grant Foundation indicates that youth service programs can promote increased competence, self-confidence, and self-esteem; experiences with people of diverse backgrounds; chances to learn by doing rather than by being told; experiences in problem-solving; empathy for others; assumption of appropriate responsibilities and obligations; and, tangible benefits for the community (Youth and America's Future, 1988). With regard to the latter, youth service yields such economic benefits as in-kind contributions of labor and talent, future social welfare costs saved, and young people who are prepared for stable work and family life. Young people now provide at least 250 million hours of service annually through state, federal and local programs. The monetary value of high school students contributing 17 million hours of unpaid service annually is $59.5 million (at $3.50 per hour) while the 192 million service hours donated by college students, at an hourly wage of five dollars, represents a $940 million contribution (ibid.:83). Youth corps members provide an additional 41 million hours of unpaid volunteer service.

School-Based Programs

Significant youth service programs at the local level have been sponsored by public and private elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges and universities. Many of these have been summarized elsewhere. Thus, Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL) and Youth Service America (1988) have briefly reviewed major youth service programs operating in the United States in 1988. Likewise, the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (1989:3) has identified a number of exemplary college-based programs that have received federal funding.

- Wesleyan College in Georgia has established a Volunteers Against Illiteracy project and has committed $150,000 for financial assistance. Each year 50 students are trained in the Laubach Method, and each teaches reading to four illiterate adults. In exchange, students receive a tuition reduction of $1,500.
- Merrimack College established an interdisciplinary

urban internship program combining intensive field experience in public agencies with a theoretical seminar that integrates the field experience with principles of urban policy development. Participating students are provided with free housing during their field placements in a college-owned house located in a culturally and linguistically mixed area of Lawrence, Massachusetts.

- Norwich University in Vermont has established a Peace Corps Preparatory Program. This program offers students a combination of classroom instruction, practical training, and summer experiences in the U.S. and overseas in order to encourage them to enroll in community, national, or international service organizations. Loan forgiveness up to $5,000 is given in proportion to the number of service years after graduation.

- Students at the Southern California School of Architecture provide technical assistance to the Los Angeles Family Housing Corporation, an established provider of low income housing and temporary shelters for the homeless. Each participating student receives a $1,000 reduction in tuition.

- The University of California at Berkeley sets aside $200,000 in university funds to fully or partially repay student loans for financial aid recipients who participate in approved community service projects either while in school or following graduation.

- At the University of Massachusetts-Boston, students with little or no experience in community service participate in Urban Service Teams. Each semester four teams of six students work on community-based service projects designed jointly by faculty and community agency staff. Over a two-year period, 96 students work on sixteen projects and receive tuition waivers totalling more than $150,000.

School-based community service programs need to enhance the educational experience and complement it rather than heighten the problems that students encounter. Elias (1989) has noted that schools often can be a source of stress for youths rather than a means for preventing or alleviating it. An overemphasis on purely academic performance can lead to a wide range of physical and behavioral problems, disconnectedness from others, and shattered self-concept. The paradoxical effects of these forces are to impede the acquisition of academic skills and to minimize the opportunities for adolescents to develop crucial competencies needed for citizenship, responsible adulthood, parenthood, and management of the complex world of work. School-based community service programs that promote pathways toward meaningful accomplishment and that teach a variety of coping skills can play an important role in overcoming many of these stressors.

Among several school-based youth service programs highlighted by the William T. Grant Foundation's Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship (Youth and America's Future, 1988) are the following:

- Vermont requires all students to complete a research or citizenship project which many fulfill through service. SerVermont combines a "bottom-up" design in which student-faculty teams create service projects in their communities.
- The Governor's School in the State of Washington trains students from different socio-economic backgrounds to develop and lead service projects.
- In Atlanta, service is considered part of an essential trio along with education and employment; students must complete 75 hours of unpaid service between Grades 9 and 11, and seniors must take a course on "Duties to the Community."
- About a quarter of the nation's independent schools require some form of service as part of

the regular curriculum. Banneker High School, a magnet academic school in Washington, DC, requires 270 hours and Metro High School in St. Louis requires 240 hours of service for graduation.

- Youth Community Service, a joint project of the Constitutional Rights Foundation and the Los Angeles Unified School District, operates in 22 Los Angeles high schools and involves over 5,000 students, largely minority, in service.
- The State of Maryland requires all high schools to offer service as an elective, while the Regents' Action Plan in New York calls for a required senior course in government participation that includes a practicum in school, community, or government service.

Rolzinski (1989:3) has cited two exemplary programs that typify the diverse models of school-based youth service that now exist:

- Community Service Learning was established by the Springfield, Massachusetts School District. The entire district of 40 schools conducts youth service programs corresponding to the developmental level of the students, ranging from kindergarten to high school. A coordinator works out of a district office assisted by a principal and a youth service coordinator from each school. Curriculum and in-service training for teachers are developed to support community service learning.

- Challenges Middle School, in Colorado Springs, Colorado, has developed a curriculum that provides learning by connecting textbooks and classrooms with the community. All academic courses have a community service component.

Some outstanding school-based programs have been sponsored at least in part by private corporations. Thus, the Valued Youth Partnership program in San Antonio, Texas, enables high-risk youngsters to be tutored by older high-risk adolescents. It is co-sponsored by a private corporation. Since the program was implemented, it reportedly has achieved declines in absenteeism, lower dropout rates, and improvements in the tutors' grades, self-image, and behavior (Ford Foundation, 1989:38).

Perhaps the best-known linkage between public schools and the business world is the Boston Compact. Begun in 1982, this program is an example of a partnership aimed at a city-wide school system. It specifies particular hiring goals for business in exchange for measures of educational improvement in the city schools. The program offers summer jobs, apprenticeship programs, scholarships for post-secondary education, and related forms of help (Ford

Foundation, 1989:39) Other partnerships that focus on entire school systems include the Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education, the Invest Indianapolis Compact which embraces the city and surrounding county, and California's statewide Regional and Occupational Centers and Programs.

Many school-based programs have been directed specifically toward high-risk adolescents. The rationale, in general, is to involve youths in prosocial activities, teach them new skills, and build peer group connections as skill domains are being developed. The latter are considered important for improving self-esteem, building a sense of competence, and providing a source of activity for idle time that otherwise might be devoted to antisocial behavior (Kazdin, 1987:103). An example is the OASES Project, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where seventh graders with a high level of truancy spend part of each day in academic classes and the remainder in shop classes where they construct physical improvements for the larger community (Rolzinski, 1989).

Other Local Programs

While school-based programs offer the possibility of constructive linkages between academic and community service objectives, many youth service programs are conducted in settings that do not readily afford such connections. Scattered research evidence points to their limitations.

Hackler and Hagan (1975), for example, conducted a prevention program in several communities with high official delinquency rates. Youths who were 14 or 15 years old were recruited and assigned randomly to experimental and control groups. The experimental subjects joined groups where they performed community work in parks and housing projects one day a week for over a year. The control subjects did neither. A follow-up of police contacts three years after the program was over revealed that the subjects who had participated in work groups fared worse than the controls.

Likewise, Offord and his colleagues (1983; 1986) have reported about a community-based program in a Canadian housing project that involved more than 400 poverty-level children aged 5 to 15 years. The subjects were considered to be at high risk for antisocial behavior. The project offered programs in the community and provided training in skills such as swimming, hockey, dancing and music. The skill training programs were implemented over a period of 32 months and were evaluated on diverse measures. The results revealed modest differences in some areas but no significant differences between the experimental and control (nonintervention) youths on parent and teacher evaluations of deviant behavior.

In contrast, the Air Force Community Action Program sponsored a Michigan Youth Services camping program for boys which mixed together 590 14- to 17-year-old achievers, predelinquents, expelled or suspended students, and wards of the court. The emphasis of the program was on vocational opportunities, health care, recreation, fellowship and leadership. The behaviors and self-concepts of all categories of subjects improved substantially (Unkovic, Brown & Mierswa, 1978). These findings are consistent with those reported in The St. Louis Experiment (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983) in which small numbers of antisocial youths participated in activity groups with prosocial youths throughout the school year at a suburban community center. These studies and others further emphasize that youth programs -- including community service programs -- with high-risk adolescents need to employ trained leaders, integrate high-risk youths with large numbers of low-risk youths, and address tasks that are meaningful both for the youths and the larger community.

Similar potentials and pitfalls apply to other types of youth service programs conducted at the local level. Magic Me, for instance, is a Baltimore, Maryland program that has involved more than 500 11- to 14-year-olds with an equal number of nursing home residents (Streams, 1988). The youths' visits take place during school hours for at least one hour per week. Likewise, Teen Challenge, an evangelically oriented organization, enlists high-risk youths to conduct AIDS testing and drug prevention programs in a variety of localities throughout the United States (Saturday Evening Post, December 1987).

As Schine (1989) notes, numerous opportunities exist for community service by youths. Some are well suited to non-school settings. In fact, many adolescents will participate more readily in programs that are sponsored by a youth group or a community organization than in school-sponsored programs. The former are not limited by curriculum requirements or tight classroom schedules and, therefore, can offer more flexible scheduling. They can provide access to a greater spread of generations and, therefore, can lend themselves more readily to cross-age and intergenerational programs. Also, they may provide more freedom than schools to become involved in social action and community change.

Community Service Programs: Summary

A wide variety of community youth service programs exists in the United States. School-based community service programs can be either voluntary or mandatory. In the latter case, academic credit may be awarded for the activity. Out-of-school programs can be conducted on a daily basis by voluntary agencies such as Campfire Girls. Others are operated during the summer by organizations such as the United Way (Lewis, 1987) or by a state-sponsored youth corps (Briscoe, 1989). Some programs are full-time and entail compensation, such as the City Volunteer Corps of New York City, while others are offered on a part-time voluntary basis at college or university campuses.[9]

The Task Force on Education of Young Adolescents (1989:15), established by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, has suggested that children of middle-school age ought to be intellectually effective, en route to a lifetime of meaningful work, good citizens, caring, ethical, and healthy. Even though available empirical support is limited, there is good reason to believe that well run community youth service programs can advance adolescents' progress toward most, if not all, of these goals. Among other things, therefore, the Task Force recommended that middle schools be connected more readily with communities and community organizations and that this be accomplished in part by placing students in youth service.

The utility of the Task Force recommendations is limited only by the difficulty of choosing from among the myriad opportunities that are available for community youth service. School-based programs can be offered either on a voluntary or a mandatory basis beginning in the middle or junior high years. They should require no more than several hours per week. Their content ought to be integrated into the academic curriculum and course credit should be awarded accordingly. In early and middle adolescence, such programs might best be situated in the school itself (e.g., peer tutoring and cross-age tutoring programs) while in later adolescence they ought to take place increasingly in the outside community (e.g., at nursing homes or health care settings). Their task demands should increasingly approximate those of the adult work place. Such programs should not, however, consume all of a youth's leisure time. Free time should be reserved for reflective activities of a more solitary nature. To the extent possible, corporations and private businesses should be encouraged to fund such programs, at least in part, and to offer opportunities for older adolescents to link their community service activities with preparations for moving into the work place.

Concurrently, municipal and state governments can offer voluntary youth service programs that take place not only during after-school hours but on weekends and in the summer. The activities and scheduling of such programs need not be constrained by academic requirements or classroom schedules. Rather, they can be more readily tailored to the needs of the local community and of the youths who take part. Likewise, youth organizations, ranging from national organizations to local church and recreation groups, can be encouraged to devote greater efforts toward community youth service.

Regardless of sponsorship, the most successful projects permit considerable input by community organizations, the people served, and the youths who provide the service. Each party must feel that its key goals are being met although this cannot be at the expense of the others. Lines of authority need to be clear and coordinated. If complex tasks are entailed or if high-risk youths are involved, guidance and supervision should be provided by well-trained professionals. If a program is mandatory and if academic credit is to be awarded as part of the community service activity, it should be given in accordance with established educational policies and should be linked as closely as possible with regular academic work. If remuneration is offered, the incentive to work for long hours is likely to be greatest for students who are in severe financial need and, perhaps, who have had poor academic preparation. Hence, careful thought should be given to the proper balance between the student's academic commitments and the time to be spent on community service. Finally, serious attention must be given to the rigorous evaluation of such programs. Analyses of financial benefits and costs should be complemented by data regarding the youths' academic performance, skill development, social behavior, and attitudes toward community service.

National Youth Service Programs

In one of his final public pronouncements as Mayor of New York City, Edward I. Koch issued a resounding call for young Americans to be required, upon graduation from high school or upon reaching age 18, to serve their nation either by enlisting in the armed forces or by serving for one year in a domestic peace corps (New York Times, December 26, 1989). Yet, his urgings represent but the most recent of many such proposals. Legislation regarding several types of national youth service is now pending from several Congressional representatives (Eberly, 1989). New models of national youth service have been endorsed by groups such as The Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship of the William T. Grant Foundation (Youth and America's Future, 1988), advocacy organizations such as the Coalition for National Service (Eberly, 1989), and the public in general, who favor voluntary service by a ratio of better than seven to one (ibid.:57).

Among the most successful of our nation's nonmilitary national service programs is the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) which functioned from 1933 through 1942. Despite the many political problems inherent in establishing a federally-sponsored service corps, the exigencies of the Great Depression led to rapid approval of the CCC by the Congress. Its manifest goals were to provide jobs to unemployed young men, transfer money to their families, and preserve America's natural resources.

Despite significant shortcomings, the CCC yielded significant improvements in the nation's natural and physical resources and, even more, contributed to marked improvements in health and literacy among its participants. As noted by Eberly and Sherraden (in press), five key factors contributed to the success of the CCC. First, it was operated with a clear sense of purpose, namely, conservation work and economic support, as opposed to purely youth development objectives. Second, the CCC emphasized productivity. Third, many CCC projects were highly visible to surrounding communities and to the country at large. Fourth, local communities had a voice in projects undertaken by the CCC. And, fifth, each CCC camp made distinct contributions to the local economy.

The Peace Corps has similarly been regarded as one of the nation's most successful service programs. Although the work of Peace Corps volunteers does not take place within the United States, it is presumed that host countries experience significant benefits from its projects and that reciprocal understanding has grown between American citizens and the citizens of developing nations. Perhaps more important are the individual benefits that accompany participation in the program. Asked to compare the amount of service given to others with the amount of learning derived from the Peace Corps experience, a random sample of former volunteers has reported that learning outweighed service by a ratio of nearly two to one (Cullinan, 1969). In order of frequency, the most common types of learning mentioned were personal learning and development, cross-cultural learning through awareness of other ways of life, acquisition of new interpersonal skills and understandings, and augmentation of one's previous formal education. Moreover, nearly nine out of ten volunteers reported that the Peace Corps experience had an impact on their studies after they had completed service.

Currently, about 5,200 volunteers participate in the Peace Corps. Although the target population for the program is persons 18 years and over, the average age of participants is 30 years. By contrast, much of the pending federal legislation regarding national or community service aims at a much younger population. The major characteristics of pending proposals are summarized briefly in Table 5 which was developed by staff of the U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee and has been distributed by Youth Service America. Among the features reviewed are the target population, estimated first-year costs, type and length of service, estimated number of volunteers, stipends involved, training components, links to the community, and state and federal administration. Included are proposals set forth by Senators Ted Kennedy, Barbara Mikulski, Sam Nunn, Christopher Dodd, Claiborne Pell, Daniel Moynihan, Robert Graham and Dale Bumpers.

Many of the anticipated benefits, as well as potential problems, of proposed national service programs are akin to those mentioned previously for community-based programs. They will vary, of course, in accord with the particular objectives of the respective programs, the tasks to be performed, and the organization of the requisite service delivery mechanisms. Certain features will, of course, differentiate national programs from local ones. These include the large number of youths likely to participate from diverse backgrounds and the complex administrative and coordinative demands of the program.

Because of the size, visibility and potential impact of any new form of national youth service, the acceptance or implementation of a national service program will necessarily depend upon the answers to a variety of questions. Judgments regarding the best answers are likely to be based not only on economic considerations but on philosophical and political ones as well. To cite but a few: Should a national service program be mandatory or voluntary? Should it be in lieu of military service or in addition to it? Should it be during high school or afterwards? Should it offer economic incentives to the participants or not? What is the preferred length of service? Will participants necessarily replace employed adult workers? What should be the respective roles of federal and local authorities? And, what are the relative economic costs and benefits?

Few of these questions can be answered definitively. Nevertheless, several key considerations are worth noting. With regard to financial costs and benefits, for example, a study of the California Conservation Corps by Public/Private Ventures estimates $1.34 in benefits for each dollar spent in the program. An estimate by the Human Environment Center of Washington, DC, suggests that the proportionate benefit is even higher, to wit, $1.60 in public benefit for each dollar spent by the Corps (Youth and America's Future, 1988:86). Likewise, the Job Corps has been rigorously evaluated. Analyses have shown that it increases earnings, enables its graduates to be employed longer, helps many to go on to full-time study, and provides society with a net return of $1.46 for every tax dollar invested (The Forgotten Half, 1988:5-6).

In another study, the Human Environment Center (1981) examined the benefits of CCC work in the Capitol Forest of the State of Washington. The forest had been devastated by intensive private logging practices during the 1920s and early 1930s. The land was abandoned as being of no further value to its owners and was taken over by the State. From 1934 through 1939, 90,000 acres of this land was reforested by the CCC at an approximate cost of $270,000. In 1981 the acreage was harvested with the timber value placed conservatively at $7,000 per acre, or $630,000,000. Examples such as this dramatize not only the fact that significant financial benefits can accrue from large-scale service programs but, also, that planners and politicians must calculate their benefits on a long-term basis. They must act upon the same principles of "delayed gratification" that are regarded as so essential to the development of healthy adolescents.

Some proponents argue that national service programs should be voluntary and, moreover, that they should provide incentives such as college tuitions for those who take part. This would lure relatively larger numbers of poverty-stricken youths into them and would limit the demographic diversity of the participants. Moreover, it would delay their higher education and career development vis-a-vis more affluent youths. If a national youth service is to be embraced by the larger society and to be viewed as equally fair to all, and if it is to imbue a spirit of community service in all and to break down extant barriers against interaction and understanding, it ought to be mandatory for all youths. Should this be the case, large numbers of youths will be involved. It would be appropriate, then, to limit the term of service to a relatively brief period of time, such as one year. If so, it should not be in lieu of military service. National youth service need not, as some fear, detract from the quality of youths who seek a military career. To the contrary, it may strengthen the pre-enlistment qualifications of those who opt for such a career.

Insufficient data exist to determine the impact of a national youth service on adult employment. Nonetheless, strong efforts ought to be made to generate innovative types of service activities and to revitalize defunct ones. Respectively, examples include home-based helpers for Alzheimer's victims (which would relieve the strain upon geriatric facilities, reduce health care costs, and provide much-needed relief to the relatives of victims) and the reinstitution of reforestation programs and other environmental conservation efforts. As has been done in previous programs, labor unions can be involved in the design and selection of local programs, thereby addressing key economic and political threats to implementation. Finally, a national youth service -- even though launched at the federal level -- should be implemented, monitored, and evaluated by local authorities to the greatest extent possible.

National Youth Service: Summary

The time appears at hand for the establishment of an innovative and comprehensive program of national youth service. The dramatic relaxation in East-West tensions poses the fortuitous prospect of significant reductions in American military forces at home and abroad as well as major reductions in military expenditures. Linked with the likely need for a smaller but more technically proficient volunteer armed services, the post-World War II prospects for a national youth service have never been more propitious.

Many models of national youth service have been proposed. Each has its own strengths and disadvantages. On balance, depending upon the overarching goals of a national youth service, it seems that participation ought to be mandatory for all high school graduates and youths who attain age 18. Service should be limited in duration to approximately one year. A national youth service should provide meaningful work for youths, identify creative new forms of youth service, and bring together youths from diverse backgrounds. Its programs should be designed in close consultation with local communities and should address the real needs of these communities. Financial incentives should not be offered that would skew participation primarily or solely toward poverty-level youths. Nor should participation in a national youth service necessarily be in lieu of service in the armed forces.

Finally, given major advances that have emerged in the social sciences since formation of the Civilian Conservation Corps and, even, since the Peace Corps, the myriad effects of all forms of youth service should be examined rigorously and systematically on a longitudinal basis. As in other areas of social science research, it is probable that methodological advances will better enable researchers not only to pinpoint the deficiencies of future programs but, also, to refine their respective strengths and benefits for participants and the larger community.

Toward Program Innovation, Expansion, and Revitalization

The available literature points to many promising innovations and advances in leisure programs for adolescents. Some of these appear to warrant significant expansion both in program scope and in the number of youths served. It is evident also that some programs for adolescents need to be revitalized if they are to play a more significant role in advancing adolescent development.

Adolescent Development and Program Design

The available literature suggests the efficacy of basing program design efforts upon a developmental perspective regarding adolescence. Such efforts are confounded, however, by the fact that adolescents themselves mature at different rates that often preclude the utility of employing chronological age as a criterion for program design. Moreover, a growing body of research points to the wisdom of devising programs that encourage social interaction and mutual aid among adolescents of different ages and, even, across generations.

Adolescent development can be promoted by an appropriate blend of activities that entail recreation, work, and community service. A substantial body of research indicates that certain protective factors can help adolescents to resist debilitating environmental stressors. These include involvement in adaptive peer groups, linkages with accessible and well functioning support networks, and participation in a wide range of recreational and community activities (Offord & Fleming, 1989; Feldman, Stiffman & Jung, 1987).

During early adolescence, participation in leisure activities that are essentially recreational should be regarded as of primary importance while participation in community service activities perhaps ought to be regarded as secondary. Youths should engage in both types of activity. But no more than an hour or two per week should be devoted to the latter. The pertinent community service activities should be meaningful for the youths and for their communities but they should not be unduly demanding. Tutoring of younger students, for instance, can be done largely on the basis of a youth's extant academic experience. It requires a minimum of disruption to the school schedule, poses only negligible problems regarding transportation, and affords a strong likelihood of adequate monitoring and coordination by able adults, namely, teachers and activity coordinators.

Programs at this stage of adolescent development should enable youths to develop their social skills and their competencies in a wide range of activities including team sports and hobbies. They should bring youths into interaction with peers from diverse backgrounds. Unless high-risk youths are involved, they can be staffed largely by adult volunteers. However, if they aim to provide services for high-risk youths, it is advisable for such programs to be staffed by well-trained professionals. In this instance, the likelihood of success will be enhanced if the programs also are offered in nonstigmatizing community-based agencies, such as neighborhood houses, and if they enable small numbers of high-risk youths to interact on a regular basis with much larger numbers of low-risk youths. Programs for high-risk youths ought to focus primarily upon social or behavioral problems that occur at a relatively high frequency but have not yet become extremely serious. Such problems often antecede less frequent but more serious social and behavioral difficulties (Loeber & Dishion, 1983). Moreover, they tend to occur in a wider variety of settings, are more visible and observable, more readily amenable to peer-based interventions, and more accessible to monitoring with regard to their improvement or lack thereof.

Particular emphasis should be placed upon strengthening family-oriented programs at this phase of development. Although churches have often played a role in establishing family-oriented programs, there remains considerable room for expansion of these programs by other groups including work place organizations, community centers, and schools. Indeed, during all phases of adolescence much can be gained by expanding and strengthening the relationships between parents and schools. This is especially the case if the resultant linkages can strengthen both the adolescent's social skills and his or her academic performance.

In middle adolescence, it is reasonable to assume that youths will benefit from a somewhat lesser emphasis upon purely recreational programs and from a somewhat greater emphasis upon community service, such that the two modes of activity can be regarded as of relatively equal importance. As in early adolescence, however, care must be taken to assure that every youth has sufficient "private" time to assure important reflective and cognitive activities. Paid work will, and ought to, become more common than previously. Depending on the nature of the work, paid employment sometimes may vitiate the need for voluntary community service. However, it ought not to substitute for mandatory community service activities that are sponsored by a student's school. Moreover, care should be given to assure that students do not devote so much time to paid work that it interferes with their academic performance.

As in early adolescence, optimum benefits are likely to be realized if both recreational and community service activities can evolve from ongoing collaborative efforts between parents and schools and, also, if they can be supported by private and public funding sources. At this stage of adolescent development, it is appropriate for community services to be somewhat more taxing with regard to their demands concerning transportation, exposure to foreign environments, and skill requirements on the part of participants. Efforts should be made to link the adolescent's parents and peers in whatever ways are feasible. Often this can be achieved by means of sports and hobby groups that bring them together for special events including coaching sessions, competitions, league picnics, and award ceremonies.

In late adolescence, the balance between recreation and community service can shift even more toward the latter. Ample time should be reserved for purely recreational activities. Indeed, recreational activities can be incorporated constructively into community service programs themselves. It is at this stage, however, that community service should be regarded as a pre-eminent developmental activity. Accordingly, it should be required of all adolescents. But, to the extent possible, it also should be coordinated with classroom activities and academic credit should be awarded. The various demands of community service should closely approximate those of the adult workplace.

The adolescent's leisure, work, and community service activities should be well balanced so that they do not detract unduly from academic requirements or other developmental tasks. While they should afford ample opportunity for group interaction they also should promote increasingly autonomous activity. And, even at this stage of development, creative efforts should be made to assure parental input and feedback concerning the pertinent programs and activities. Relevant efforts can involve open houses and tours for parents at the sites of their children's community service, joint parent-youth projects and, of course, continued parent-youth leisure activities that are age-appropriate such as camping trips and visits to sporting events.

Although available knowledge about adolescent development permits the elaboration of general guidelines about program design, it is essential to recognize that both the personal abilities of adolescents and the environmental factors that affect them can vary substantially. Therefore, it is essential to make individual determinations regarding which types of leisure programs are best for which type of youths, and at what particular stages of development. This recognition points to the need for a wide range of program opportunities so that the varying developmental needs of youths can be met more readily.

The likelihood of either normal or abnormal development on the part of any particular adolescent depends upon the relationship between his or her personal coping skills and the extant environmental stressors and protectors to which the youth is exposed.[10] Many investigators contend that the key factor which enables a youth to withstand behavior problems is his or her personal capabilities or traits -- termed variously as coping skills, behavioral competencies, and stress-resistance. In brief, such investigators invoke a "trait model" of adolescent disorder that is deeply grounded in the disciplines of psychiatry and psychology. In contrast, other investigators assume that environmental stressors are the key variables that determine whether or not a youth will develop a behavior disorder. They employ a situational or "environmental model" grounded largely in the disciplines of sociology and human ecology. In conjunction with research and methodological advances in the latter disciplines, the environmental model has gained considerable ascendancy during the past two decades. Yet, to date, this perspective has been integrated only minimally into the design of leisure programs for adolescents.

Both perspectives must be considered in formulating a viable model of risk for adolescent behavior disorders. By itself, neither is sufficiently inclusive to explain the complexities of adolescent behavior. In essence, behavior disorders that adolescents manifest are a consequence of the interaction and relative balance between stressful or protective environments and strong or weak personal coping skills. All environments can vary along a continuum that ranges from decidedly protective, on the one hand, to decidedly stressful, on the other. Likewise, personal coping skills can range along a continuum that varies from decidedly strong to decidedly weak. Hence, a "social interaction" model is essential in order to understand adolescents' risk for behavior problems and to formulate more adequately targeted youth programs.

Adolescent risk status must be defined primarily on the basis of the mutual interaction and relative balance between environmental stressors or protectors and a youth's ability to cope. According to this model, an adolescent who is exposed to a stressful environment is not necessarily considered at high risk so long as he or she has exceptionally strong coping skills. Conversely, an adolescent with weak coping skills is not necessarily at high risk so long as his or her environment is a protective one in which the extant environmental protectors are stronger than the extant environmental stressors. Such a model is relative and interactive rather than absolute and static (see Figure 1).

Importantly, this conception suggests that an environment which is characterized by strong protectors need not necessarily be a "protective" environment. Likewise, an environment characterized by formidable environmental stressors is not necessarily a "stressful" environment. Rather, it is the net balance between stressors and protectors which determines whether a particular environment can be regarded as healthy or unhealthy or, more specifically, as protective or stressful. A stressful environment, then, is one in which the extant stressors clearly surpass the extant protectors; conversely, a protective environment is one in which the extant protectors exceed the extant stressors. And, a borderline environment is one in which the pertinent stressors and protectors are approximately equal in strength; that is, since neither set of factors clearly surpasses the other in strength, a highly fluid situation obtains.

In terms of this conception, the environments of adolescents can be arrayed along a continuum which varies from "protective" to "borderline" to "stressful." All other things being equal, a decided surfeit of environmental stressors (vis-a-vis protectors) results in a high risk for behavior disorder on the part of a youth. Likewise, a relatively equal balance between environmental stressors and protectors presupposes a moderate risk of disorder while a decided surfeit of environmental protectors (vis-a-vis stressors) suggests a low risk of disorder.

The model suggests that some adolescents who have only borderline coping skills can nevertheless remain at low risk for a behavior disorder. Similarly, some youths with weak coping skills need not necessarily be behaviorally disordered. Depending upon their extant environmental stressors and protectors, youths will be differentially vulnerable. In fact, some adolescents with very strong coping skills may be at high risk for behavior problems in view of the potency of the net environmental stressors to which they are exposed. School-based and community-based programs will be especially important for such youths. Hence, the model recognizes the fact that any adolescent's vulnerability or invulnerability must be viewed in relative rather than absolute terms. As a result, varying models of recreational and community service programs must be available for differing types of youths. Similarly, programs must be delivered in a more concerted fashion to neighborhoods that present abundant stressors and few protectors, such as those inhabited by large numbers of minority and low-income youths. Even more, the model highlights the fact that regional variations may exist which will influence the nature and extent of program design for adolescents.

Thus, for example, a study by Policy Analysis for California Education (Stanford News, February 10, 1989) regards the State of California as "The Great Exception" with regard to its youth demographics and program needs. Enormous growth has occurred with regard to the total number of children in California. In 1988, the state had 7.3 million children; by the year 2000, it will have 8.7 million -- a growth of 20%. Whereas one out of nine American children now lives in California, the figure will climb to one in eight by the year 2000. School enrollment grows by over 140,000 pupils a year and will increase school costs by $20.6 billion in the next ten years, not including facility costs. The percentage of California children living in poverty, currently estimated at 1.78 million, has jumped from 15% in 1980 to 23% in 1987. Moreover, one out of six California children was born in another country, and the number is growing. Even though the state has only 11% of the nation's population, it houses 27% of the nation's legal immigrants and an unknown number of illegal immigrants. Its children are becoming more diverse ethnically, linguistically and culturally. By the year 2000, 42% of

California's children will be white, 36% will be Hispanic, 13% Asian and 9% African-American. Accordingly, the nature and distribution of leisure and community service programs to be designed for California's youths cannot necessarily be based upon an "average" American model.

Program Expansion and Innovation

Programs for adolescents can benefit from expansion in a number of areas. Thus, more after-school leisure activities can be provided at school sites. County parks and recreation departments can be encouraged to expand their programs for adolescents, especially those that encourage family-oriented activities. More neighborhood youth centers can be established and their open hours can be extended. More recreational and leisure time activities can be offered by churches, community agencies and, even, private businesses. All of these efforts could usefully employ adolescents as apprentices or assistants on either a paid or an unpaid basis.

Central to the notion of expansion is the realization that different types of institutions -- foundations, universities, the federal government, schools, businesses, and community organizations -- all can develop strategies and programs to increase opportunities for adolescents. Youth service opportunities can be expanded significantly by means of school-based programs, community-based and city-based programs, campus-based programs, and state-wide and federal programs. As suggested by the Working Group on Youth Service Policy (1989:2), the most promising programs will ensure that substantive work is accomplished (including conservation, housing rehabilitation, and such human services as education, tutoring, literacy, day care, and caring for elderly citizens) and that these accomplishments are reported to the public.

To avoid undue clustering of high-risk youths or subsequent stigmatization of a program, care must be taken to assure that service projects are not designed primarily as devices to rehabilitate youths who are experiencing social or behavioral problems. To assure that programs are able to realize their full potential, states and cities must not merely adopt youth service policies but, as noted by the Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship (Youth and America's Future, 1988:85), they must provide local school boards and community agencies with financial and technical assistance so that quality experiences can be provided. One innovative approach toward financing is exemplified by the California Bottle Bill wherein the state legislature places a one cent surcharge on all beverage bottles sold in the state, with a percentage of the revenue earmarked for the state's seven urban service corps (ibid.:88).

School systems and community agencies ought to bring increasing numbers of leisure counselors, community service coordinators, and social group workers into their programs.

This will require special training initiatives funded not only by these agencies but by private foundations and by local, state, and federal sources. Courses and extracurricular activities should be initiated that will enable adolescents to develop leisure interests that can be of value into their adult years. Constructive and cost-effective program linkages should be sought among these organizations.

Innovative, yet meaningful, community service opportunities can be devised that accommodate large numbers of youths. Examples include physician assistants, caregivers for Alzheimer's patients, and other activities that can enhance the quality of life for at-risk persons and their families while potentially yielding social and economic benefits for all who take part. It is plausible to assume that programs such as these can be funded in part by private parties including health care providers and patients' families. Public support for community service programs can be strengthened by public information campaigns, recognition award ceremonies, and emulation of such programs as Junior Achievement in the realm of community service.

Revitalization and Reinstitution of Programs

It has been rightfully asserted that national programs such as VISTA and the Peace Corps are in need of revitalization (The Forgotten Half, 1988). In addition, it is abundantly clear that much of the nation's organizational infrastructure for leisure and community service programs for adolescents has deteriorated. In particular, during the past three decades traditional social service agencies such as neighborhood houses and community centers have increasingly relocated to affluent suburban areas, drawn more heavily upon subprofessional and volunteer personnel rather than professionals, and reduced the quantity and quality of their programs for youths (Trolander, 1987; Feldman, 1987). Nevertheless, recent research indicates that such organizations can constitute excellent settings for leisure and community service programs for youths of all ages (Feldman, 1987). Indeed, they may be more productive sites for helping high-risk adolescents than are traditional types of treatment organizations (Feldman, Stiffman & Jung, 1987). The developmental gains that are achieved by adolescents in such settings can be readily generalized to their natural environments and can be achieved on the basis of expenditures that may be 80% less than for comparable intervention programs in mental health or juvenile justice settings (Feldman, Caplinger & Wodarski, 1983).

Revitalized youth service programs can explore new ways to involve adolescents in instrumental tasks as well as purely recreational activities. They can sponsor both nonprofit and for-profit youth-operated enterprises and can provide seed money, technical assistance and supervision. They can work with schools to develop leisure counseling centers and can develop volunteer opportunities that strengthen intergenerational connections among adolescents and adults from different social and economic backgrounds. They can even establish funded positions for adolescents to serve as apprentice-level youth workers (The Forgotten Half, 1988:91)

To significantly revitalize these institutions will require a significant infusion of federal, state, and local funds. Monies will be required for a renewed commitment to professionalization, for facility construction in high-need areas, and for the transportation of high-risk subjects to programs in communities with more ample facilities. Although additional pilot programs should be implemented in order to further specify the relative costs and benefits of such programs, the available data suggest that a significant revitalization of such services will contribute integrally to the well-being of America's adolescents.

Program Innovation, Expansion and Revitalization: Summary

Innovative programs for adolescents must take account of the particular needs of various age groups and of individual youths. In addition, they should recognize the differential strengths and weaknesses of the communities in which they need to be located. Data based upon national "averages" cannot be readily used in order to address the particular program needs of specific communities.

A wide range of promising recreational and community service programs for adolescents merit further expansion. Even more, many traditional youth organizations need to revitalize their programs in order to better serve the nation's adolescents. Attainment of these goals will require substantially increased expenditures for facilities, trained professionals, and evaluation research.

Implications for Federal Policy

No government can provide all things for all people. Nor should government intrude unless essential. Yet, government in a complex society cannot forego a major role in assuring the health, happiness and productivity of its most precious resource, namely, its youth. It is most urgent that the federal government exert leadership in bringing together civic leaders and public officials in order to create opportunities for discussing directly and frankly the major social problems, developmental needs, and social service requirements that must be considered in order to promote health and well-being on the part of our nation's adolescents. Abundant research evidence points to the wisdom of addressing the leisure needs -- however broadly defined -- of the nation's adolescents since investments in them are likely to yield significant preventive and proactive benefits.

The goals of efficient and effective help for adolescents today call for either a rethinking of the boundaries and roles of major systems (e.g., the respective roles of schools and social service agencies and, also, of local, state, regional and national authorities) or identification of the most successful modes of cross-system cooperation, coordination, administration and management. Within the federal government itself, a substantial need exists for more effective planning with regard to youth policies and service. It has been observed (Reingold and Associates, 1987, vi.), for instance, that there is a lack of real coordination within federal agencies that relate to youth and that there is very little interagency cooperation and coordination. Interagency activity is not institutionalized within the various departments. Federal agencies have devoted few resources to facilitate interagency coordination at the state level. There are insufficient mechanisms and incentives to foster development of multi-year, long-term institutional change demonstrations. Furthermore, it is difficult to plan and maintain effective programs when federal funding is subject to elimination year after year. There is no coordinated, comprehensive, long-term, national action agenda that consolidates and directs federal resources toward youths.

Necessary improvements in service delivery for adolescents must eventually be achieved at the local and regional levels. Strong state support is required if this is to occur. The best likelihood of significantly improving developmental opportunities for adolescents will exist, however, only if there is a strong federal presence. Social services, in general, and programs for adolescents, in particular, are not large items in the total national budget nor, even, within the social budget that includes such costly expenditures as social insurance, public assistance, medical care and education. Yet, vast expenditures for these items might be reduced significantly as a result of modest expenditures which promote the constructive use of leisure time on the part of our nation's adolescents.

The capstone of a federal commitment to our nation's youths should be the establishment of a national youth service program that affords participation by all of the nation's late adolescents (specifically, high school graduates and youths who have attained 18 years of age). This program should identify new and innovative ways for youths to serve society and to advance themselves. While traditional community service projects such as conservation and housing rehabilitation can be re-emphasized and revitalized, more creative service opportunities can be developed on the basis of new problems and technological advances that have emerged in the half century since inception of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The federal government can play a productive role in generating legislative initiatives and providing incentives to expand and diversify programs for adolescents at all stages of development. Federal policy should promote youth service programs at the state and local levels either as an antecedent to a nationwide system of youth service or as a complement to it. It should encourage leisure and community service programs in elementary, middle, and high schools. The federal government also can encourage community service by establishing incentive and recognition systems both for school systems and individual youths.

The federal government can play a major role in encouraging schools to serve as centers that deliver integrated services to adolescents, including leisure counseling, extracurricular leisure programs, and community service. Such programs would be able to re-emphasize the role of schools as centers for comprehensive social development and as sites for prevention and proaction rather than reaction. If linked with the curriculum, they would concurrently be able to generate greater meaning for, and student interest in, the academic components of schooling. They could contribute to greater recognition of the interrelated nature of such problems as academic malperformance, delinquent affiliations, teen parenthood, and unemployment, and to better integrated programs aimed at them. School-based and school-linked health centers for adolescents (Millstein, 1988) could profitably be expanded in order to address adolescents' social and behavioral development. Even more, the government could play a significant role in creating mechanisms and incentives for private-sector involvement in leisure, educational, community service and employment programs.

The federal government can stimulate, support, and supplement state and local programs as well as coordinate a national youth service effort. Thus, as Schwartz (1989) has suggested, it can take part in an expanded promotional campaign with press and television on behalf of service programs. It could facilitate efforts to secure passage of a federal omnibus youth service bill that provides added financial support and other resources and it could strive to amend current federal legislation and regulations in order to support youth service programs. Examples include the Federal Work-Study Program and the Job Partnership Training Act. Likewise, Drug Education, Vocational Education, and the Omnibus Education Act programs could be amended to utilize youth service models in support of their stated objectives (ibid.:9).

Considerable knowledge must be generated by means of research and conceptual advances if recreational and community service programs for adolescents are to benefit fully from the contemporary social and behavioral sciences. It is imperative, therefore, that the federal government play a major role in funding advanced training and research programs for these fields. Newer professions such as leisure counseling ought to be developed vigorously while older ones, such as social group work, need to be revitalized and redirected toward the needs of adolescents. It will be years -- perhaps decades -- before a sufficient pool of professionals can be trained to fill the likely demands for service. But these fields will not realize their full potential without an adequate supply of researchers, scientists, theorists and practitioners. Progress toward this end can be expedited by mutually beneficial funding linkages between federal sources and employing organizations such as school systems and youth service agencies. Likewise, the government can stimulate creative linkages between youth serving agencies that do not typically collaborate with one another. Family service agencies and public recreation departments, for example, can work together to establish programs that employ recreational activities as an entry point for more intensive social, educational and mental health services. Alternatively, recreational activities can be employed as useful adjuncts to the latter services (Brown, 1986).

Besides funding pilot projects and demonstration programs, the federal government should spearhead an effort to develop a comprehensive national data base and a system of social indicators regarding the nation's youth. These resources will provide consistent and meaningful longitudinal data which yield information about the nation's adolescent population and about the relative effects, costs and benefits of various youth programs. Requisite analyses can help regional and nationwide planning efforts to become more efficient and more accurately targeted. Relevant studies should attend to patterns of utilization, organization of services, financing, quality of interventions, and adolescent outcomes both in the short run and the long run. They are likely to rectify some of the current imbalances in the distribution of resources among adolescents and to assure that high need communities will acquire more adequate assistance.

These efforts will be particularly instrumental in helping to develop a continuum of services that extends throughout adolescence and beyond. It often is assumed, for instance, that programs which occur at an early stage of adolescent development will yield social and behavioral benefits that inevitably remain with the individual throughout his or her life. While this sometimes may be the case, such a perspective is predicated upon a simplistic medical model in which a program "innoculation" is assumed to have life-long effects. Even in the world of medicine, however, "booster" shots and follow-up programs are necessary to reinforce or sustain the long-term beneficial effects of an intervention. The life-span ecology of intervention programs constitutes a complex but essential "new frontier" for research. It merits substantial federal support which, among other things, will require that federal agencies consider changes in their usual short-term funding cycles.

Renewed interest should be encouraged in research concerning such topics as peer-group influence, the social integration of adolescents from diverse backgrounds, the social and behavioral development of minority adolescents, parenting programs, and the organization and revitalization of service delivery mechanisms for adolescents. Likewise, seed money should be made available in order to upgrade and modernize professional school curriculums regarding adolescent development and services for adolescents.

To further enhance the development, transfer and application of needed knowledge, the federal government also should play a major role in promoting and establishing large-scale dissemination programs about leisure and recreational activities for families and adolescents and, also, about community youth service projects. Such efforts will be likely to facilitate program coordination and expansion as well as to generate public support.

Implications for Federal Policy: Summary

The federal government must exert leadership in many areas if adolescents are to progress more readily toward healthy, happy and productive lives. Above and beyond the establishment of a national youth service for all high school graduates, the federal government can promote innovation, coordination and expansion in recreational and youth community service programs at the local, state and regional levels. Even further, it can strengthen and expedite emerging efforts by developing nationwide data bases and by sponsoring research and training programs that advance knowledge and increase the supply of competent professionals. Finally, the federal government can promote the broad scale dissemination, transfer and application of knowledge about adolescent development and about recreational and community service programs for adolescents. In doing so, it is likely not only to stimulate the implementation of exemplary programs but to generate increased public support on behalf of efforts to safeguard the future of our nation's most precious resource: its young people.

Footnotes

1. Signals occurred once within every two-hour block of time except during school hours when there was one every 40 minutes. To adjust for this disproportionate sampling, the investigators assigned a weight of one-third to the school reports. This equalized their frequency vis-a-vis nonschool self-reports and resulted in a total sample of 2,734 self-reports.

4. The situation differs little, if at all, from that reported in a recent study of child and family services in the United States (Kamerman & Kahn, 1989). The authors concluded that a fully satisfactory, systematic picture of child and family social services in the U.S. or of children in this system is impossible given the current status of terminology and data. There are no national data regarding the supply of services, the interventions used, or the characteristics of providers. Nor are there data on the characteristics and numbers of children in each part of the system. Whether for statistical purposes or for program analysis, there is no consistent language used to describe the components of the system, let alone the specific services and interventions.

3. These are summarized succinctly in Marx's (1989) study. Thus, for instance, research concerning employees in

Washington. D.C., indicated that among 9- to 11-year-olds, 45% are in self-care or sibling care while among 12- to 14-year-olds the figure rises to 68% (Emlen, 1982). A survey of employees in downtown Los Angeles (United Way, 1984) indicates that 76% of the respondents' children aged 10 to 13 were in self-care. Medrich and colleagues (1982), in a study of 11- and 12-year-old children in Oakland, California, found that no adult was home during after-school hours in 23% of two-parent families and 30% of single-parent families. In households in which the mother was employed full-time and no younger children were present, 57% of the children were left without supervision. Hedin et al. (1986) found that 50% to 60% of 10- to 12-year-olds in Minneapolis were home without adults at least one day per week; up to 40% were alone three to five days a week. Black males were the most likely subgroups to be left alone. Among seventh- and eighth-grade students, 75% to 80% reported being home alone at least one day per week while 35% to 50% were without adult supervision three to five days per week.

4. The number of youths may be overestimated to the extent that given youngsters hold membership in more than one of these organizations.

5. A comprehensive directory of American youth organizations has been compiled by Erickson (1983). A

revised second edition is in preparation.

6. This discussion draws extensively from an earlier one set forth in Feldman, Caplinger and Wodarski (1983).

7. These programs and others are described in greater detail in Ventura-Merkel and Freedman (1988).

8. Similarly, positive effects have been noted with regard to integrated classrooms and race relations. Thus, for instance, proximity to other-race students and participation in school activities has increased interracial contact and friendships (Patchen, Davison, Hoffmann & Brown, 1977). Likewise, cooperative learning teams have been used to increase the number of cross-race friendships in school settings. These teams consist of ethnically mixed learning groups who study together in school and are rewarded for the group's performance (Slavin, 1985).

9. These programs and others mentioned here are described more fully in Lewis (1987). Helpful summaries of after-school programs and out-of-school programs also are provided by Marx (1989) and Schine (1989).

10. This discussion draws largely upon Feldman, Stiffman and Jung (1987:56-74).

Table 1: Where Adolescents Spend their Time

HOME (41%)	
Bedroom	12.9%
Living Room	8.9%
Kitchen	8.1%
Yard or Garage	4.1%
Dining Room	3.3%
Basement	2.2%
Bathroom	1.6%
SCHOOL (32%)	
Classroom	19.8%
Miscellaneous Locations	2.3%
Cafeteria	2.2%
Halls	2.0%
Gym	1.9%
Student Center	1.3%
Library	1.2%
School Grounds	0.8%
PUBLIC (27%)	
Friends' Home	5.4%
At Work	5.3%
Automobile	3.8%
Other Public Areas	3.0%
Store or Cafe	2.8%
Street	2.0%
Park	1.7%
Walking	1.5%
Indoor Recreational Facility	0.8%
Church	0.8%
Bus or Train	0.4%

SOURCE: Adapted from M. Csikszentmihalyi and R. Larson, Being Adolescent: Conflict and Growth in the Teenage Years. New York, New York: Basic Books, 1984:59. The data are based upon 2,734 weighted self-reports. Each percentage point is equivalent to approximately one hour per week spent in the given location or activity.

Table 2: What Adolescents Spend Their Time Doing

LEISURE ACTIVITIES (40%)	
Socializing	16.0%
Watching Television	7.2%
Miscellaneous	4.6%
Reading (Nonschool)	3.5%
Sports and Games	3.4%
Thinking	2.4%
Arts and Hobbies	1.5%
Listening to Music	1.4%
MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES (31%)	
Chores and Errands	14.3%
Eating	5.6%
Transportation	4.9%
Rest and Napping	3.2%
Personal Care	3.0%
PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES (29%)	
Studying	12.7%
Classwork	12.0%
Jobs and Other Activities	4.3%

SOURCE: Adapted from M. Csikszentmihalyi and R. Larson, *Being Adolescent: Conflict and Growth in the Teenage Years*. New York, New York: Basic Books, 1984:63.

Table 3: Mean Time (in Hours) Spent in Several Types of Activities and Proportion of Respondents Participating (N=129 Youths)

Activity	Mean Time in Activity		Percent Participating	
	Weekday	Sunday	Weekday	Sunday
School and School Work	7.50	0.59	95.3	29.7
Domestic Work	0.40	0.59	27.3	27.3
Work Away From Home	0.37	0.12	12.4	3.9
Goods and Services	0.36	0.09	16.3	7.0
Cultural/Educational	0.20	0.12	17.1	5.5
Passive Leisure	2.72	3.05	87.6	85.9
Organizational Activity	0.13	0.76	6.2	24.2
Active Play and Recreation	0.62	1.21	36.4	35.9
Outings	0.30	1.32	27.1	46.9
Interpersonal Interaction	0.73	1.60	40.3	42.5

SOURCE: Adapted from J. Farley, "Activities and Pastimes of Children and Youth: Age, Sex and Parental Effects," Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 10, 3 (Autumn 1979):394.

Table 4: Participation In and Importance Of Selected Activities (N=129 Youths)

Activity	Percent Participating	Percent "Important" or "Very Important"	Importance Ratio*
Arts and Crafts	23.3	16.3	70.0
Church Activities	11.8	11.8	100.0
Youth Organizations	18.6	18.6	100.0
Playing Cards	38.8	9.3	24.0
Mechanical and Electronic	14.0	9.3	66.4
Home Movies and Photography	13.2	10.9	82.6
Gardening	9.5	7.8	82.1
Reading	58.9	48.8	82.9
Sewing and Cooking	27.9	21.0	75.3
Plays, Movies and Concerts	42.6	25.6	60.1
Sports Participation	65.9	56.6	85.8
Watch Sports	38.8	26.4	68.0
Musical Instruments	38.8	32.6	84.0
Listen to Music	62.0	45.7	73.7
Collections	25.6	14.0	54.7
Watching TV	85.3	45.8	53.7

SOURCE: Adapted from J. Farley, "Activities and Pastimes of Children and Youth: Age, Sex and Parental Effects," Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 10, 3 (Autumn 1979):396.

*Percentage of those participating in the activity who considered it "important" or "very important."

Table 5: COMPARISON OF PROPOSED NATIONAL OR COMMUNITY SERVICE PROPOSALS

	Kennedy (S.)	Mikulski (S.408)	Nunn (S.3)	Dodd (S.322)	Pell (S.)
SUMMARY	Student community service	National Guard model	Education benefits tied to service	American Conservation Corps and Youth Service Corps	National service demo program
FIRST YEAR COST & MATCH	$100 million; 80% 1st yr 70% 2nd yr 60% 3rd yr 50% 4th & after	$250 million; state pays state administrative costs	$5.3 billion[1] including phase-out of financial aid programs; 25%	$152.4 million; 50%	$30 million plus $5 million for Peace Corps demo; no match
TARGET POPULATION/ SELECTIVITY	Elementary, Secondary, and College students; Out-of-school youth	Selection based on fitness for duty; availability of position; date of application	17 or over; High School graduates; Senior citizens; admission by application	16 - 25 (full-year) 15 - 21 (summer) High School graduates OR dropouts[2]; special efforts to enroll economically, educationally, socially, physically disadvantaged	16 - 25 High School graduates (2 years at higher ed inst for Peace Corps); admission for Peace Corps demo: competitive; effort to enroll underserved groups
TYPE OF SERVICE	Community service such as tutoring, assisting the elderly, neighborhood revitalization, peer counseling, work with immigrants & refugees, anti-drug-abuse efforts, work in day care centers, homeless shelters, food banks, family support programs	Placed by state in: non-profit agencies, youth programs (Big Brother/Sister), programs for elderly, public safety work (volunteer fire fighteres, emergency medical services), conservation, poverty programs	Educational, human, and conservation service, public safety work, or existing programs (Peace Corps, VISTA) (civ.); Military service	ACC: improvement of public lands; Youth Corps: placement with gov. agencies, hospitals, schools, nursing homes, law enforcement agencies, and other private, non-profit service orgs.	Determined by state higher ed agency: health care, child care, literacy, welfare, social services, transportation, housing, public safety, crime control, recreation, rural development, etc.; Peace Corps

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[1] No authorization levels specified in S.3. Estimate based on Democratic Leadership Council publication Citizenship and National Service.

[2] Must have been out of school for 3 months. Students required to sign statements that they did not drop out of school for the purpose of enrolling.

	Kennedy (S.)	Mikulski (S.408)	Nunn (S.3)	Dodd (S.322)	Pell (S.)
LENGTH OF SERVICE	Sustained commitment; part-time	3 - 6 years part-time 2 weekends + 2 weeks OR 9 hours week ave.	1 year full-time (Civ.) OR 2 years active duty + 6 years reserve OR 8 years reserve (Mil.); Unspecified for Sr. citizens	2 years full-time	2 years full-ti
ESTIMATED VOLUNTEERS	2.5 million	50,000	800,000	13,500	4000
INCENTIVE	Optional: academic credit	$3,000/year for education or down payment on home	$10,000/year (civ.) $12,000/year (mil.) for education or down payment on home	Inservice job training/education and Postservice training/education benefits up to 110% of minimum wage/year	Up to $7,200/ye (Unspecified fo Peace Corps dem
STIPEND	None	None	$100/week (civ. 66%/base pay (mil.) hourly wage (sr.)	50 - 100% of minimum wage	$600/month (Educ. costs fo Peace Corps dem
TRAINING	Required for students and supervisors	6 weeks required	Not specified	Training req'd to enhance skills	Training only in Peace Corps demo
LINK TO COMMUNITY	Projects planned locally; agreements req'd between school and community reps; community reps involved in program design	Not specified	Regional National Service Councils	Locality may participate if state opts out	Not specified
STATE ADMINISTRATION	State education and higher educ. agencies	Governor's designee	Governor prepares service plan	Governor's designee	State higher ed agency
FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION	Department of Education w/ consultation from ACTION	Corp. for National Community Service	Corp. for National Service	Creates Commission on Nat'l Service Opp.; Interior/ Agriculture (ACC); ACTION (Youth Corps)	Education (Peace Corps)
DISPLACEMENT LANGUAGE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

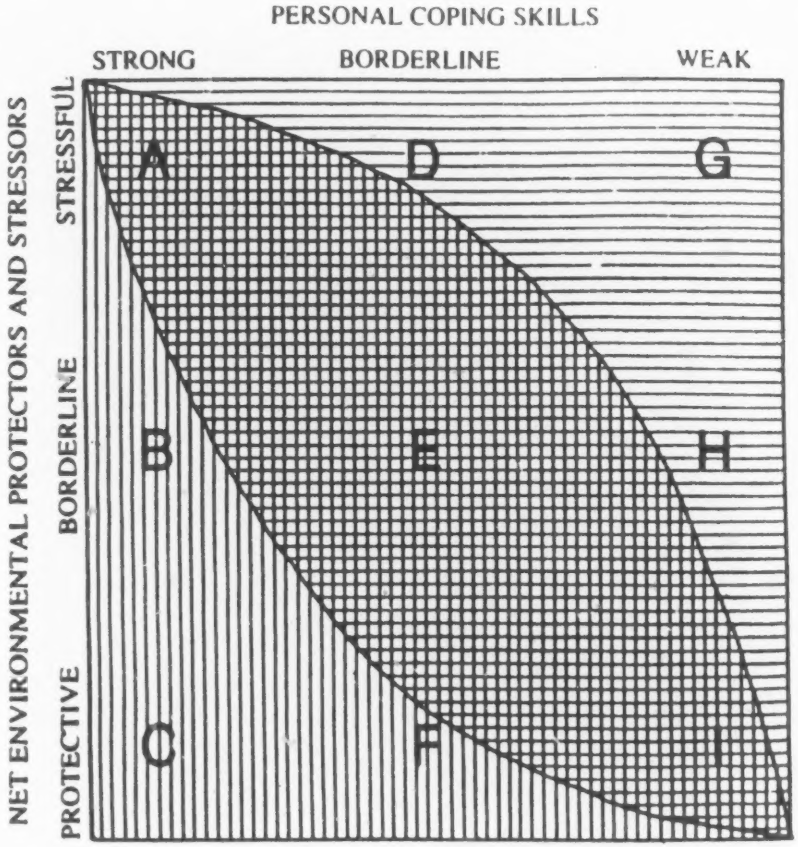
COMPARISON OF PROPOSED NATIONAL OR COMMUNITY SERVICE PROPOSALS -- PART II

	Moynihan (S.232)	Graham (S.382)	Bumpers (S.539, 540, 541)
SUMMARY	American Conservation Corps	Business & citizen volunteers in schools	Student loan forgiveness/ cancellation for service
FIRST YEAR COST/ MATCHING	$75 million; 50%	$5 million; no match	
TARGET POPULATION/ SELECTIVITY	Unemployed, 16 - 25 (full-year) 15 - 21 (summer); Special efforts to enroll economically, educationally, socially, physically disadvantaged; individuals with special skills	Older americans, Business, Higher education students Older americans receive priority	College graduates with loans
TYPE OF SERVICE	Improvement of public lands	Volunteers in schools; priority for transfer of high-tech skills, anti-drug & alcohol abuse, drop-out prevention, nutrition & health ed	Peace Corps, VISTA, or service with any tax-exempt, non-profit organization
LENGTH OF SERVICE	2 years full-time	Unspecified; part-time	1 year full time
INCENTIVE	$200/year Optional academic credit	Unspecified	Cancellation of student loan debts
STIPEND	95% of pay rate for grate E-1 members of armed forces; minus room and board	Unspecified	None
TRAINING	Req'd to enhance skills	Optional for managers	N/A
LINK TO COMMUNITY	States req'd to provide mechanism through which local govs can participate	Assume locally designed projects	N/A
STATE ADMINISTRATION	Gov designee	State education agency eligible grantee	None

	Moynihan (S.232)	Graham (S.382)	(S.539, 540, 541)
FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION	Department of Interior Agriculture w/ consultation from Labor	Department of Education	Department of Education
DISPLACEMENT LANGUAGE	Yes	No	No

SOURCE: U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee
Distributed by Youth Service America

Figure 1: Net Environmental Protectors and Stressors, Personal Coping Skills, and Adolescents' Risk for Behavior Problems


PERSONAL COPING SKILLS
STRONG
BORDERLINE
WEAK
NET ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTORS AND STRESSORS
STRESSFUL
BORDERLINE
PROTECTIVE
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I

FIELD CHARACTERISTICS

A.	Stressful Environment Strong Coping Skills
B.	Borderline Environment Strong Coping Skills
C.	Protective Environment Strong Coping Skills
D.	Stressful Environment Borderline Coping Skills
E.	Borderline Environment Borderline Coping Skills
F.	Protective Environment Borderline Coping Skills
G.	Stressful Environment Weak Coping Skills
H.	Borderline Environment Weak Coping Skills
I.	Protective Environment Weak Coping Skills

Key:

▤ = HIGH RISK

▦ = MODERATE RISK

▥ = LOW RISK

SOURCE: Adapted from Ronald A. Feldman, Arlene R. Stiffman and Kenneth G. Jung, *Children at Risk: In the Web of Parental Mental Illness.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987:59.

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U.S. Congress
Office of Technology Assessment

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Draft
Middle and Secondary School Environments as They Affect Adolescent Well Being

Background Paper for Adolescent Health Project
Prepared under contract to
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by Michelle Fine, Ph.D.

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS' SCHOOL ADAPTATION AND THEIR HEALTH AND BEHAVIOR

SCHOOL ADAPTATION		HEALTH/BEHAVIOR
Poor school grades, limited, educational attainment, special education placement, being retained in grades, poor attendance	↔	Delinquency (Gottfredson, cited, p.161) (Others)
Drop out	→	Delinquency and drug use (page 164)
Low academic performance, behind in grade level, likely to drop out even pre-pregnancy	→	Teen mothers (p. 172)
	→	Poverty
Low income school, high teacher dissatisfaction in school	→	Drop out

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NON-SCHOOL FACTORS AND ADOLESCENT WELL BEING OR PROBLEMS

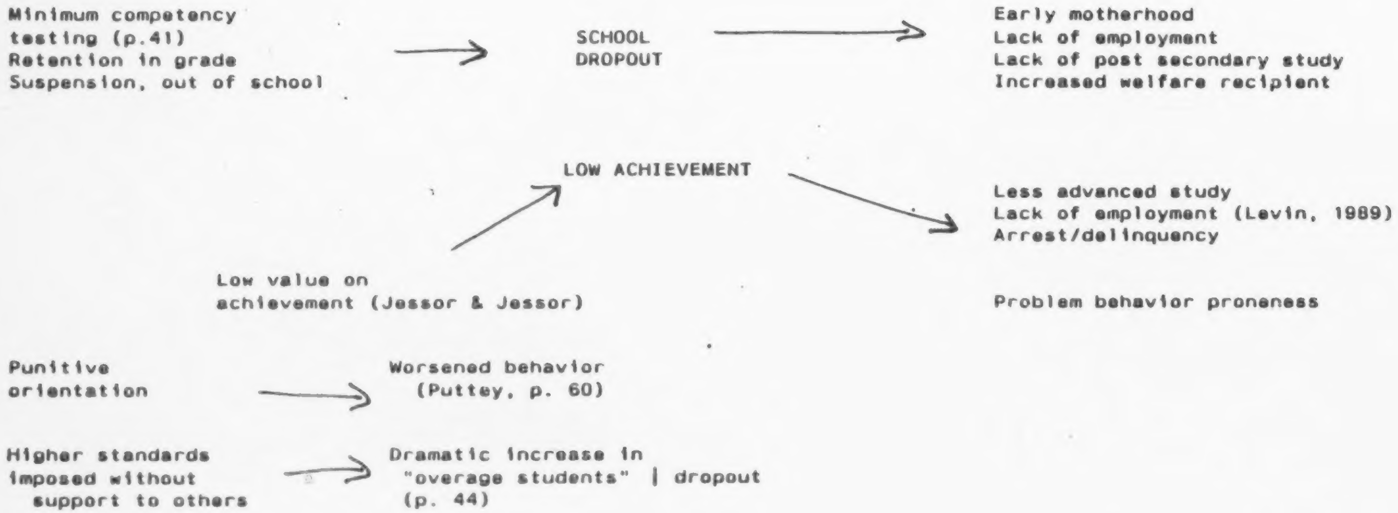
Weak family bonds;
relative social
isolation

Low income community

Dropout (p. 164)

Increased teen
pregnancy/out of
wedlock births (p. 171)

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOL POLICIES AND ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS



Minimum competency
testing (p.41)
Retention in grade
Suspension, out of school

SCHOOL
DROPOUT

Early motherhood
Lack of employment
Lack of post secondary study
Increased welfare recipient

LOW ACHIEVEMENT

Less advanced study
Lack of employment (Levin, 1989)
Arrest/delinquency

Low value on
achievement (Jessor & Jessor)

Problem behavior proneness

Punitive
orientation

Worsened behavior
(Puttey, p. 60)

Higher standards
imposed without
support to others

Dramatic increase in
"overage students" | dropout
(p. 44)

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL FACTORS AND ADOLESCENT HEALTH

Catholic schools   More academic courses → Increased math achievement
Proactive academic
Encouraging environment

Heterogeneous mix ability students → Increased overall academic success
Decreased delinquency rates

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TREATMENT OF TEACHERS AND GOOD OUTCOMES FOR ADOLESCENTS

Environment Treatment of Teachers	Teachers' Perceptions	Teacher response	Student Outcomes
Collective and cooperative climate for teachers (Stevenson, 1987), (p.130)	Enhanced sense of ownership	More successful implementation and maintenance of new educational practices More collegial interactions among teachers	
Also see teacher involvement in school governance, next page	Teachers perceive selves as having a "substantial say" in shaping policies and practices	More positive views of adolescents More optimism about ability to affect adolescents lives (p. 130)	
Teacher teaming* (Arhar et. al, 1989) (p.131) [Review] and others	Decreased teacher isolation	Increased student focused groups	High achievement Decreased referrals, suspensions and expulsions Decreased delinquency Different studies found different effects

Sense of community, strong principal ←-- Increased satisfaction
--- Increased self-eff. (p.133)

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* Defined broadly, see p. 132, 133)

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Most survey and archival data
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TREATMENT OF TEACHERS AND GOOD PROCESS
TREATMENT OR OUTCOMES FOR ADOLESCENTS

ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS FOR TEACHERS	TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS	TEACHERS' RESPONSES	STUDENT OUTCOMES
School Governance (From reviews by Bryk et al., 1989)			
"Communally-oriented" schools (shared goals and values, common agenda) (Bryk and Driscoll) (pg. 134)	Increased satisfaction	Higher teacher morale (perceived by students)	Decreased misbehavior Decreased dropout Increased increase in school Increase math achievement
School-based teacher driven school restructing (p. 135 ff)	Early evidence for enthusiasm		Increased attendance Decreased failure rates Decreased suspensions and referrals
into small, intimate communities; with cooperative learning			early results and gross measures three months post implementation

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TREATMENT OF TEACHER AND POSSIBILITY OF ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS

ENVIRONMENTAL TREATMENT	TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS	TEACHER RESPONSE
High work demand on teachers		Greater reliance on rote learning and passivity in classroom (Moos, 1985; M.F. [p.130])
	Teachers perceive selves as powerless vis a vis administration	Negative views of adolescents they work with ("beyond help") and powerless to help them (Fine, 1984 [MF p.130])
Overly bureaucratized school relationships (Bryke and colleagues review) (p.134)	Alienation	Disengagement

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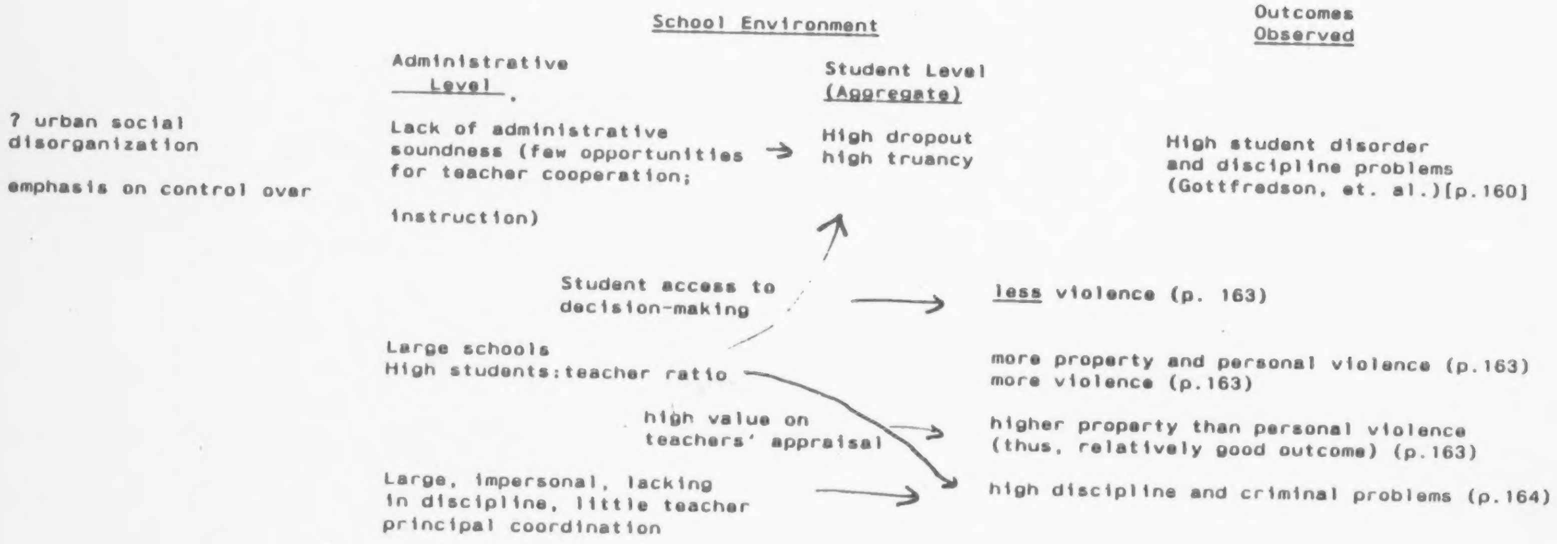
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT AND ADOLESCENT CRIME AND DELINQUENCY



School Environment

Outcomes Observed

Administrative Level

Student Level (Aggregate)

? urban social disorganization

emphasis on control over

Lack of administrative soundness (few opportunities for teacher cooperation; instruction) → High dropout high truancy

High student disorder and discipline problems (Gottfredson, et. al.)[p.160]

Student access to decision-making → less violence (p. 163)

Large schools
High students:teacher ratio

more property and personal violence (p.163)
more violence (p.163)

high value on teachers' appraisal → higher property than personal violence (thus, relatively good outcome) (p.163)

Large, impersonal, lacking in discipline, little teacher principal coordination → high discipline and criminal problems (p.164)

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SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS AND CRIME AND DELINQUENCY
(con't)

EXTRA-SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT	SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT		OUTCOMES OBSERVED
	Administrative Level	Student level (aggregate objective or perceived)	
	Anonymity	"School integration" Weak social attitudes few quality relationships with teachers, poor school experiences	dropout, delinquency (school crime, pg. 164)
	Schools under- and over-react to adolescent aggression, tension		adolescents do not seek help (p. 168)
	Punitive orientation		increased misbehavior (p.168)
	Intervention: (teamed teaching; data-based management enhanced student participation, and respect for student diversity		decreased hall "wanderers", detentions, suspensions, referrals to principals (p.169)

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL FACTORS AND ADOLESCENT HEALTH/WELL-BEING

Evidence (?) Characteristics of "effective schools" (p.46) high adult to student ratios Clean, comfortable, safe environments Sufficient materials Staff development Special project fundings Experienced staff Extra-curricular activities Fewer non-teaching assignments Small school (500-600 high school) Small classes Teacher driven change/shared decision making		Academic progress, heightened expectations decreased delinquency, increased persistence in schools, especially among marginal (Fine, p. 40)	
7 Participating communities High mean SES of school attendance High mean scores	Separate or together (p. 50)	Increased college attendance Decreased dropout rates	(but neighborhood mix has greater effects)

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS AND ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY AND PARENTING

EXTRA SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS	SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT	OUTCOMES OBSERVED
Low income communities (controlling for family variables)		Higher incidence of teen parents (p.171)

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS AND RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT		OUTCOMES OBSERVED
Administrative level	Student level (aggregate)	
Tracking		Racial cleavages
Mixed ability groupings		Increased cross-race friendships (J.H.S.) (p. 177)
	White students	six times more likely to choose a random white friend
	Attitude that "being smart" "acting white"	School failure, low investment is investment in school (p.178)
"Whiting out" in the curriculum/Eurocentric, male curriculum		African-American, Latino and Native American students, as well as girls forced to sacrifice their knowledge of history, ethnic connections and language (p. 178); develop negative identity (p.179)
	Relative levels of "Anglo domination"	Levels of attachment to own ethnic group, especially for Latinos schools (p. 179)

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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS AND RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY

EXTRA-SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT	SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT		OUTCOMES OBSERVED
	Administrative Level	Student level (aggregation)	
	Hispanic multicultural curriculum		Ethnic salience (p. 179) esp. for young Latinos
	Bilingualism		Increased reading and verbal interactive ability (p. 180)

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THEORETICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND ADOLESCENT SOCIAL HEALTH

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT Student level(aggreg)	ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES
Community involvement/ activism	empathy, concern for others, sense of personal efficacy; increased participation in democratic process (p.180)

"Little empirical evidence exists on this topic (Schine, 1989; Dougherty, 1982), but evidence from adult population supports the anticipated outcomes (Dougherty, 1987).

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STUDIES SHOWING WEAK RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
SCHOOL FACTORS AND ADOLESCENT HEALTH AND WELL/BEING OR ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS

STUDY	DATA SOURCE	SCHOOL FACTOR	STUDENT OUTCOME	RESULTS
Jencks and Mayer (1989)	HS&B	"H.S. quality" [need more] mean SES of H.S.	Achievement Cognitive	<1% of variance explained

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescence, in the late 1980s and into the 1990s, proves to be a time of enormous stress, strain, and possibility. Across racial, ethnic, class and gender lines, many youths find themselves searching for structures (Ianni, 198), supports (Garbarino, 198), and identities (Hale-Benson, 198) ironically and precisely at the same time that public schools relinquish responsibility for the whole student. By virtue of its disciplinary organization, curricular divisions, tracking systems, strategies of labelling, anonymity, retention, suspension and dropout policies, the typical public middle and secondary school is constructed so that it can nourish intellectually and emotionally those students who are economically and familially supported, motivated, committed to a college eduction, and basically quite healthy. Students who aren't so supported or so motivated attend, disproportionately, those schools in which teachers and counselors have responsibility for up to 150 other students, or 400 to 800 other students, respectively. In such contexts, educators would have to deviate powerfully in order to take notice of vulnerabilities among their students, much less to intervene on their behalf.

Adolescents as a group, and particularly those who are disadvantaged by virtue of social class (Carnoy & Levin, 1986; Fine, 1990; Garbarino and Asp, 1981), racial stratification (Ogbu, 1986), gender discrimination (Sadker & Sadker, 1984) and/or disability (Biklin, 1987; Gartner & Lipsky, 1987) suffer disproportionately for this neglect. They suffer in ways that are isolating and lonely. And given the alienating yet opaque structures of low-income schooling, their problems appear to be the *students'* own fault.

This paper takes as its task the *revealing* of those environments of middle and secondary schooling which give shape to students' well being, and the *sculpting* of an argument about the complex relationship of these public school environments to adolescent health outcomes. Defining broadly the independent variable (school environments) and the dependent variable (adolescent health outcomes), a review of the literatures will be presented and an analysis will be developed for conceptualizing what does, and could, happen **between** environments and health outcomes. While there are numerous accounts and analyses of differential funding practices, race/class/gender desegregation policies, curricular organizations, and strategies for educators' and parents' involvement in school decision making, etc., these accounts are typically disassociated from evidence of their impact on student outcomes. Likewise, evidence on student outcomes, academic, psychological, criminal or physical is typically correlated with personality, family or structural variables, but much less often analyzed for their association with school environments. The alienation of these two bodies of literature, with notable and to-be-detailed exceptions, renders this paper both a review and an intellectual speculation on what we know, what we need to know, and what we can do to improve the school environments of adolescents, particularly low income adolescents in the United States.

What Works

Overall, school environments which facilitate adolescent well being take the shape of intellectually engaging and emotionally intimate communities (Alaska Women's Commission, 1990; Lightfoot, 1983; Wehlage, Rutter, et. al., 1989). Power is shared through democratic participation of administrators, teachers, students and sometimes parents. Relationships, academic as well as personal, are nurtured. The curriculum responds to individuality as well as to differences, without exacerbating achievement disparities in the form of rigid tracking. And the mix of students is diverse and rich, working cooperatively within small classes and schools. These communities are adequately financed, supportive of teachers' strong participation in policy and decision making, respectful and inviting of parental/community participation, and they function as places of nurturance, intellectual inquiry, democracy, concern, and a deep sense of belonging.

Of particular interest, the existing scholarship argues consistently that the academic and health outcomes of adolescent students are quite mutable, particularly in contexts of dramatic change, but even in contexts of incremental change of school environments. Outcomes in academic achievement, persistence/drop out rates, pregnancy, disciplinary and criminal transgressions, social involvement and racial/ethnic identity are influenced -- for better and for worse -- by the environments and practices which constitute public middle and high schooling. It is particularly important to note that economically and academically marginal students appear empirically to be the most easily influenced by both incremental and radical changes in school environments. This is very good news for educators committed to educational excellence and equity.

The above description of educational communities emerges with great consistency across the national survey literatures, and from more deeply embedded ethnographic accounts of public schooling. Beneath each dimension of these "communities", however, lies a series of policy controversies which are in much need of serious analysis. These are the controversies that shape the remainder of this text with available evidence presented critically.

The Structure of this Essay

There are five major sections to this essay. Readers are introduced initially to Adolescent Well Being in the Social Context of Schooling and then to those literatures which place Public Middle and Secondary Schools in a Political Context. Once these two frames have been established, the Argument for Educational Communities will be articulated through a review of the sociological, educational, and psychological literatures on public middle and secondary schooling. And once this argument has been delineated, analyses of The Interior Processes of Secondary Schools: What's Going On Inside? will follow. A look at Other Dependent Variables concludes the essay.

Adolescents in the Social Context of Schooling reviews the literatures on adolescent demographics, their well-being, mortality and morbidity, and their levels of academic outcomes and social commitments.

Public Middle and Secondary Schools in a Political Context introduces readers briefly to some of the policy controversies surrounding the "reform movements" of the 1980s, financing debates, and dilemmas and abuses of standardized testing as the press for "standards".

Once adolescents and middle/high schools have been situated in their respective contexts, the analysis flows through an Argument for Educational Communities in which the reviewed literatures address:

* Creating Communities: High Schools and Middle Schools.

* The Evidence on Size: School size and class size

* The Evidence on Educational Transitions: Their interactions with adolescent development, and their impact on academic and social well being.

Next, The Interior Processes of Secondary Schools elaborates the practices and effects of:

Institutionalized Strategies for Tracking
  Options/Magnet Schools -- tracking between schools
  Tracking and Grouping -- within schools
  Suspension and Discipline Policies
  Standardized Testing and Retention

Alternatives to Tracking
  Summer Learning
  Cooperative Learning

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Rethinking the Power of Educators

Questions of Parental Involvement with an analysis of the controversy surrounding "choice"

Switching Dependent Variables -- a look at crime/delinquency, teen pregnancy, social and ethnic identity and participatory democracy/student levels of activities as affected by school environments.

As this survey of the contents reveals, adolescent health outcomes are reviewed in this document through a comprehensive and unusual collection of lenses, including:

academic achievement

graduation/drop out rates

exposure to school-based environmental threats

delinquency/criminal involvement

teen pregnancy/parenting rates

ethnic/racial identity

social participation/activism

This paper attempts to script a conceptual frame for braiding school structures and environments with these adolescent health outcomes. Absent from the analysis are those literatures on the impact of federal, categorical programs, such as Chapter I, Special Education, Bilingual and/or Vocational Education. While each is referred to in the text, a full comprehensive treatment would be impossible in the context of this analysis.

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Adolescent Well-Being in the Social Context of Schooling

National Data on Schooling Outcomes

It is useful to understand, before analyzing school environments, how the distribution of students across public school institutions has shifted historically. Today, more students graduate from high school than has been true in the long term past. Although somewhat fewer do than has been true in the recent past. While in 1909-10, 8.8% of 17 year olds were high school graduates, this number soared to 59% in 1949-50, 70% in 1959-60, 77% in 1969-70, and has been calculated at 72.9% in 1986-87 (Graham, 1987). These aggregate figures obscure, however, the more nuanced and informed picture that a race, class and gender analysis allows. In 1986, approximately 13% of white males age 18-19 were classified as drop-outs. This compares to 11% of white females, 15% of Black males, 15% of Black females, 29% of Hispanic males and 24% of Hispanic females. Moving from Department of Education data (collected from schools) to the United States Bureau of the Census, (collected retrospectively as self reports from adults), we find that the dropout figures are 27% nationally; 42% for central cities; and 54% for poverty areas in central cities. In poor neighborhoods -- defined as over 50% living below the poverty line -- of Anaheim California, for instance, 75% of the population drops out of high school. In poor communities of Madison Wisconsin, 20% of the population drops out of high school (Wilson and Neckerman, 1987).

It is particularly important to note a priori that the High School and Beyond analyses demonstrate that staying in school enhances adolescents' achievement scores, particularly for those "at risk". In other words, dropping out bears particularly adverse consequences for those who can earn less afford them.

> [F]emales, and to a lesser extent minorities, are relatively "bigger losers" when they drop out of school. Blacks and females fall further behind in the language development areas of vocabulary, reading and writing when they leave school early. (Ekstrom, et. al., 1986, p.66).

Over the recent past, high school attrition rates have worsened in some states, and stabilized in others. The United States mean in 1972 was 22.8%. Ten years later the figure jumped to 27.2% and by 1984 it reached 29.1%. New York documented a 25.3% attrition rate in 1972. By 1984, the state reported a 37.8% attrition rate (United States Department of Education, 1984, in Rumberger, 1987). With the fifth highest dropout rate in the country, New York State estimates that 62% of Hispanics, 53% of Blacks and 46% of Native Americans drop out prior to graduation.

Moving into New York city, approximately 58.5% of adults residing in New York City's poor neighborhoods report themselves to be high school dropouts (Neckerman and Wilson, 1987). In 1985, 32% of New York City's white adults had less than four years of high school, compared with 39% of Blacks and 57% of Latinos (Tobier, 1985), and specifically among New York City's adolescents, a report by Aspira suggests that New York City dropout rates exceed 68% for Black students and 80% for Hispanics (1983).

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Evidence from High School and Beyond data set (HS & B) suggests that students from the lowest income quartile drop out at rates of approximately 22%, whereby students from the highest income quartile drop out at rates approximating 7%. For young women (Earle, 1987a and b), mothers' level of education and number of siblings are highly related to probability of dropping out. Young women whose mothers are well educated are relatively unlikely to drop out, whereas young women with many siblings are more likely to drop out than those with no or few siblings.[1]

While social class is the finest predictor of dropping out, being retained in grade, and therefore "overage", for that grade, runs a close second. We know that being retained in grade doubles the likelihood of dropping out (Fine, 1989) and rarely accomplishes the academic turnaround it was ostensibly intended to produce (Labaree, 1983). We know, further, that students who are retained in grade are disproportionately low income and of color. Indeed, Berla, Henderson, and Kerewsky (1989) write that by age 11, 44% of black males and 26% of black females in the United States have already repeated one grade, as have 38% of Latino males and 32% of

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[1] Turning specially to female students we find strong evidence to suggest that the traditional female sex role - holding expectations of early marriage and/or motherhood - bodes poorly for a young woman's academic career. The Hispanic Policy Development Project demonstrates that low income females who expect (in tenth grade) to be married by age nineteen, and/or to have a child by that age, were far more likely to be non-graduates that those who did not expect marriage or a child by that age. And, Ekstrom et. al. found female dropouts to be substantially more likely to agree that "Most women are happiest when making a home" and "It is usually better if the man is the achiever and the woman takes care of the home" than female graduates (Ekstrom. et. al. 1986).

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Latino females. By age 15, 25% of all students have been held back once or more.

Achievement

If drop out rates are somewhat more distressing in the current era than the recent past, evidence from both reading and mathematics achievement tests are somewhat encouraging (1984, 1989). The National Assessment of Educational Progress "Reading Report Card" tracks students aged 9, 13 and 17 who are in school[2], on their reading ability and has collected data on 251,000 students, 1971-1988. As of the most recent analysis, 9, 13, and 17 year olds proved to be better readers in 1988 than in 1971, although there were no discernible differences between 1984 and 1989. Blacks and Hispanics, in particular, made sizeable improvements during this seventeen year period. Given the categories "Rudimentary", "Basic", "Intermediate", "Adept" and Advanced", virtually all 13 and 17 year olds can read "basic" material, with 84% of the 17 year olds at "intermediate" level competencies. However, while the Black/Hispanic-White gap has narrowed, the mean reading profile of Black and Hispanic 17 year olds remains only slightly better than white 13 year olds.

Graduate Equivalency Diplomas (G.E.D.)

Yet another indicator of adolescent educational health may be derived from the numbers of G.E.D. credentials issued from 1974 through 1986. Over this time period, this figure increased by 40%, from 294 to 428. However, the proportion of credentials granted to young adults age 19 or younger dropped from 35% in 1974 to 32% in 1986. Given the recent increase in dropout rates, this finding is troubling insofar as it suggests more young women and men are entering adulthood with no terminal credential.

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[2] The exclusion of dropouts is methodologically problematic.

Special Education

While G.E.D. rates have fallen recently, the numbers and proportions of students labeled "special education" has soared in the past decade. In 1976-77, 3,692,000 students were labeled and served within special education, with 21.6% classified learning disabled and 26% classified mentally retarded. By 1986-87, the absolute number served increased to 4,374,000, with 44% labeled learning disabled and 15% mentally retarded. The size and proportion of the student body and the teaching force allocated to special education has correspondingly swelled. In 1976-77 there were 178,768 special educators employed by public elementary and secondary schools, averaging 20.7 pupils/teacher. By 1984-85, there were 272,394 teachers, averaging 15.8 special education pupils/teacher.

School Climate

In terms of school climate, we learn from the Digest of Educational Statistics (U.S. Department of Education, 1988) that most administrators (regardless of school size) rate their schools as less frequently disrupted by student infractions and disciplinary violations in 1985 than in 1980.. Teachers, in contrast, particularly urban teachers, reported their schools to be more or equally disrupted. From these national data we see that in schools larger than 1,000 students (relative to schools of less than 400 or schools of 400-999) most educators report that some students are engaged in selling drugs (63% versus 38% and 10%, respectively), theft (93% versus 85% and 71% respectively) and law violations reported to police (88% versus 71% and 62% respectively). Likewise, in large schools reports of suspensions are more frequent (99% versus 98% and 89%, respectively) as are expulsions (51% versus 35% and 39%) and disciplinary transfers (50% versus 38% and 14% respectively). While these problems appear to plague rural, suburban and urban schools, they are reported more frequently in urban facilities (except for in-school suspension which appears to be a disproportionately utilized in suburban schools).

The final historic note concerns the recent plummeting of federal public revenues expended for public elementary and secondary schools. Once again the Digest for Educational Statistics (1988) reveals that over time, beginning in the Reagan years, the federal government dramatically disengaged from basic education expenditures. In 1955-56, the federal government contributed 4.6% of the total school revenues. By 1969-70 that percentage almost doubled to 8.0. And by 1979-80 it peaked at 9.8%. Since 1980, however, the percentage has been cut by close to one third, such that in 1985-86, the federal government contributed only 6.7% of total revenues, with the States picking up the plurality of expenses (49.4%) and local monies contributing 43.9%, up slightly from 43.4% in 1978-80. Schools have grown increasingly dependent on local tax bases and other resources, which contributes to the exacerbation rather than the minimization, of economic disparities between communities (Corcoran, 1986).

The Relationship of Academic Achievement and Dropping Out to Labor Market Participation and Early Motherhood

The effects of dropping out and low academic achievement on labor market experiences and early motherhood are noteworthy. Having a credential, even with a poor achievement record, appears to be enormously important toward heightened labor market participation and delaying the onset of motherhood across racial and ethnic groups. Further, moderate to high levels of academic achievement appear to be quite reliable predictors advanced educational work. And finally, dropping out is associated highly with poor labor market prospects, early motherhood and high levels of welfare dependency.

An analysis by the Hispanic Policy Development Project (HPDP, 1989) of the HS & B follow up data demonstrates that:

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Table 1

Proportion of 1980 High School Sophomores by
Levels of High School Attainment in 1984

	Hispanic	Black	White
High School Graduate (C plus or better GPA)	35%	35	60
At Risk Graduate (C or below GPA)	25%	40	25
Dropouts	40%	25	15

Source: Hispanic Policy Development Program, The Research Bulletin, Fall, 1989.

Recognizing that Hispanics are over-represented among dropouts, and Blacks are over-represented among at-risk graduates, the HPDP reports that in 1986, 75% of the Hispanic graduates (at risk and not), and 65% of the Black graduates (at risk and not) were working for pay, but less than 66% of the Hispanic dropouts and 50% of the Blacks were similarly employed. Even more striking, while 30 to 50% of the C plus or better graduates were enrolled in some academic course work in 1986, only 13% of the at-risk graduates were, and 1% of the dropouts.

Turning to motherhood, we see that race, ethnicity, graduation status and academic achievement weave a complex story.

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Table 2

1980 Female Sophomores: Parental Status 1986
Percent of Each Education Group Who
Report Having and Raising a Child (Motherhood)

	Graduate	At Risk Graduate	Dropout
Hispanics	18%	41%	71%
Blacks	32%	51%	63%
Whites	18%	36%	71%

Source: Hispanic Policy Development Program, The Research Bulletin, Fall 1989

The absence of a diploma is highly associated with early childbearing for young women, and again we see that poor academic achievement, even for graduates, correlates with early childbearing. HDPD notes that as a consequence of these trends most young Hispanic children who have recently entered school or who are about to enter school, have mothers who themselves do not have high school diplomas.

Finally, HPDP notes that dropping out dramatically affects levels of welfare receipt, substantially more so than being an at-risk graduate (Table 3).

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TABLE 3

Proportion of 1980 Female Sophomores
in Receipt of Welfare in 1985

	Graduate	At-Risk Graduates	Dropouts
Hispanics	4%	7	20
Blacks	9%	19	44
Whites	2%	5	20

Source: HPDP, 1989

Students who drop out at disproportionately high rates (Blacks, Hispanics, low income adolescents) are those who experience the most substantial discrimination in the labor market, and therefore suffer the most dramatic levels of unemployment, poverty and economic vulnerability.

In 1984, when the overall United States unemployment rate was 7.4%; for sixteen to twenty-one year old dropouts it was 27.7; and for female dropouts, it reached 32.3% (Weidman, 1984). By October of 1985, 50% of Black high school graduates of the class of 1985, 29% of Latinos and 15% of white graduates were unemployed. While 28% of the Black graduates had jobs, a full 36% of white dropouts were employed (United States Department of Labor, as cited by Spring, 1987). Credentials (and their absence) only intensify race, class and gender stratification in the labor market.

In New York City, a study conducted by Emanuel Tobier documents 1980 employment to population ratios in News York city,

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by gender, race/ethnicity and community, (1984) in which Tobier reports on the employment to population ratios which measure the number of employed persons as a percent of total working age population. The city-wide ratio for whites and males, he found, far exceeded that of Blacks, Latinos, and females: 66.5 for white males, 56.2 for Black males, 62.8 for Latino males; 43.2 for white females; 46.5 for Black females, and 36.1 for Latina females. For teenagers, the 1970 employment to population ratio was 30, while in 1983 it dropped to 19. Most revealing is Tobier's analysis of community SES as it mediated individual dropout status. Here he reports that in New York City, high school dropouts who were living in the highest income neighborhood had a 42.4 employment to population ratio, but high school graduates living in the poorest income neighborhoods had a 30.7 employment to population ratio. In other words, a young adult was much better off, in terms of likely employment, being a high school dropout in a fancy neighborhood than a high school graduate in a community with over 50% poverty.

Looking within neighborhood, however, we see that across levels of impoverishment, employment prospects double for high school graduates over dropouts (Employment-Population ratio 31 versus 15). Within racial groups, high school dropouts are approximately twice as likely to be underemployed as are graduates. Dropouts are less likely to participate in the labor force, and substantially less likely to be employed (Young, 1983). Dropouts who are employed are approximately half as likely to hold white collar jobs as graduates (for males, 9% of dropouts versus 16% of graduates; for females, 31% of dropouts versus 57% of graduates), and female dropouts are much less likely to hold clerical positions and much more likely to hold service and domestic positions than female graduates. Clearly having a diploma yields significant economic consequences within gender and race groups. But a diploma does not equalize gender, race and class gaps in earning or employment rates.

In a now well recognized set of documents, Toward a More Perfect Union (Berlin and Sum, 1988) and The Forgotten Half (W. T. Grant Foundation, 1988), there resonates in clear unison, an analysis that suggests that: (1) without a high school diploma economic and social well being are in serious jeopardy, and (2) life for drop outs today is substantially more problematic -- economically and socially -- than life for drop outs 30 years ago.

Berlin and Sum explain that young male adults age 20 to 24 earned, in 1984, real median incomes that were 33% less than young adults of the same group eleven years earlier. This comparison, devastating though it is, understates the problem insofar as it excludes women, as well as those men who report no earnings, a proportion totalling 7.3% in 1973 and 12% in 1984. And even this figure occludes the dynamics of racial stratification, such that in 1973 14.2% of black male dropouts reported no earnings, compared to 43% in 1984.

Berlin and Sum report that real mean earnings of Black dropouts and high school graduates decreased two fold over this period of time, while white, Hispanic and Black male college graduates' earning increased by a factor of approximately 16%. In the 1960s the gap between mean income of high school dropouts and graduates approximated 31%. By the 1980s, this figured swelled to 59%.

While Berlin and Sum attribute the earnings gap to the absence/presence of a credential far more than to individual achievement levels[3], they nevertheless maintain that basic skills deficiencies are the primary explanatory variable associated with dropping out, teen pregnancy and parenting, and ultimately poor economic prospects. Relying on the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth Labor Market Experience, they report that 46% of the poverty-level young respondents fell in the lowest 20% of the test scores, as did 40-59% of respondents who were jobless, dropouts, welfare recipients and teen parents. For Berlin and Sum, the obvious intervention is improved education, focusing on the acquisition of basic skills. They implore policy makers and other readers to recognize the "sense," fiscal and moral, of investing in education. According to their estimates, each additional year of schooling contributes $715/year in earnings. A high school diploma contributes a mean of $927. With these additional public revenues, they argue, come diminished welfare rolls, "out of wedlock" births and criminal arrests. What we learn then, from

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[3] They note, for instance, that graduates with low achievement scores still earned more than drop outs with high achievement scores.

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Berlin and Sum, is that it is reasonable to focus an analysis of adolescent academic health on drop out rates, given that dropping out is so closely associated with academic well being, future economic well being and future social/health conditions.

Echoing Berlin and Sum, the authors of the W.T. Grant Foundation's The Forgotten Half conducted a two year study of those sixteen to twenty-four year olds who are non-college bound. These authors begin their analysis by stating:

> One of the cruelest myths of contemporary American life is the claim that our economy is healthy because unemployment is relatively low.(1)

They calculate, as Berlin and Sum have done, that labor market opportunities are actually shrinking for meaningful and economically viable jobs. Young workers today suffer higher unemployment rates than has been true historically. This is the case for teens (15.8% August 1988) and for black teens (32.4%) particularly, with real income in a steep decline for more than a decade (since 1973, according to Berlin and Sum). And like Berlin and Sum, these authors stress enriched employment opportunities and youth education.

A third national document echoes the prevailing policy recommendation that the "employment" problem requires a tri-partite response in which enhanced opportunity structures (that is, real, meaningful and well paying jobs for low income youths and young adults) are yolked to substantial and supportive training programs, as well as to the restructuring of public schools to deliver "basic

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skills" to its graduates. In their analysis of the Boston Compact project for the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, Eleanor Farrar and Colleen Connolly (1989) conclude that:

> Jobs, college scholarships, and career education programs are no doubt important... But schools do not improve because of jobs or scholarships; they need support to retrain an aging teacher force; to provide reading programs that work across the district; and to systemically address other major educational deficiencies in the system (p. 73-74).

The literatures on the education-labor market transition push consistently for seemingly simple solution -- good schools.

What Do We Know About Adolescent Health?

Richard Jessor delivers a compelling analysis of adolescence as a time of rapid change. Biologically, academically, socially, sexually, and intellectually adolescence proves to be a pivotal developmental moment. Jessor (1983) cautions that adolescence can not be conceptualized as a single delimited life stage that "interrupts" childhood and adulthood, or one that is discontinuous with prior and later states. Adolescence is, instead, internally quite heterogenous, and typically quite continuous with what has proceeded and what will follow. Of particular concern to Jessor are five characteristics of adolescence relevant to a discussion of their well-being. First, he notes, during adolescence, health compromising behaviors are tested, most obviously drug use and sex, but so too are health enhancing behaviors, such as exercise and caloric monitoring. Second, he writes, attitudes and beliefs about

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health are being acquired and shaped during adolescence. Third, adolescence is a time of enormous emotional consternation. Fourth, and related, adolescence is a time of enormous pressure to "cope." And fifth, adolescents suffer an asynchrony of change such that they may be "developing" sexually but not feel prepared to engage sexually, or they may be cognitively and intellectually zooming ahead, while peers disparage their devotion to academic affairs.

Jessor therefore characterizes adolescence as a relatively high stress stage of life. Just as the primary causes of death and disability are behavioral, they are highly characteristic of this age group. Forty percent of the deaths of white males aged fifteen to twenty four are due to automobile accidents. Such compromising behaviors, he writes, seem to be on the increase, such as driving while drinking, earlier onset of smoking pot, and "homogenization of the sexes", by which he means that young women increasingly participate in the kinds of health compromising behaviors that young men have always engaged in.

Jessor documents a negative correlation between health compromising and health enhancing behaviors. Through "problem behavior theory", Jessor and Jessor are able to predict longitudinally who, of their cohort of adolescents moving from junior high school age through young adulthood, will be vulnerable to health problems. Jessor and Jessor argue that the personality system, in tandem with the perceived environment and the behavioral system create a tight twine in which a psycho-social pattern of proneness obtains. Proneness to problem behavior is most likely to emerge when adolescents attach a low value to academic achievement, hold relatively high levels of social criticism and experienced alienation, low self-esteem, external locus of control, high tolerance for deviance, and low religiosity, low parental support, low peer controls, low parental influence in relation with peers, low parents' disapproval for problem behavior and high friends' approval for the same (among other variables).

The authors conclude that in order to enhance health promotion behaviors and reduce health compromising behaviors, policy makers need to intervene at all three levels -- personality, environment and behaviors -- and toward these ends, work to minimize, to insulate and to delay onset. The question they leave readers with asks, how can schools mobilize toward such ends?

Reinforcing Jessor's disturbing and provocative analysis, the New York State Child and Adolescent Health Profile for 1986 provides data on adolescent health, demonstrating the extent to which adolescent mortality and morbidity are contingent on conditions that are ultimately controllable -- that is behavioral conditions. The five leading causes of death for ten to fourteen year olds are: motor vehicle accidents (21%); non-vehicular accident (15%); malignant neoplasms (14%); homicide and legal intervention (death from police action) (7%), and congenital problems (6%). For older adolescents, those aged fifteen through nineteen, the rates for behaviorally-caused deaths soar: motor vehicle (30%); homicide and legal intervention (18%); suicide (10%); accidents (9%), and malignant neoplasms (7%). Data on

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Indian Mental Health (Congress of the United States, 1990) demonstrate substantially heightened rates of suicide deaths for the 15-19 age group (Indian males, rates of suicide death 26.3/100,000; all United States males 9.3; Indian females, 3.4; all United States females, 2.2) with suicide attempts extremely high for Indian females (for youths grades 6-12, 11.6% for Indian males; 20.3% for Indian females; 5.9% for all Minnesota males; 13.2% for all Minnesota females). Suicide attempts are associated, within the Native population with psychiatric problems, criminal justice involvement, and multiple home placements (Congress of the United States, 1990).

The National Center for Educational Statistics document, *Youth Indicators: Trends in Well Being of American Youths* (1988) offers some further statistics on the state of youth health today. Reported alcohol and drug use patterns, interestingly enough, have not shifted very much since 1975, except in the area of cocaine use. In 1975, 90% of students "ever used" alcohol (91% in 1986); 19% "ever used" marijuana (19.9% in 1986); 36% "ever used" other illicit drugs (37.7% 1986); 9% "ever used" cocaine (16.9% in 1986); 2.2% heroine (1.1% in 1986) and 11.3% "ever used" LSD (7.2% 1986). Indian youths may be three times more prone to alcohol-related offenses than their Anglo or Hispanic peers (Congress of the United States, 1990).

An analysis of number of deaths among fifteen to twenty-four year olds (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1988, p. 100) confirms what the New York State data indicate, but provide

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more gruesome dis-aggregated profiles by race and gender. Whereas the historic picture is a good one -- fewer adolescents and young adults are dying today than in the past, and die still at lower rates than older cohorts -- Black males are still dying at a rate almost 50% higher than white males, four times higher than white females and three and a half times higher than black females (Table 4).

TABLE 4

Historic Mortality Rates For Adolescents 15-19

by Demographic Category (Per 100,000)

	WHITE MALES	WHITE FEMALES	BLACK MALES	BLACK FEMALES
1950	152.4	71.5	212.0	107.5
1970	170.8	61.6	320.6	111.9
1985	135	46.3	184.8	53.7

Number of Deaths per 100,000

CAUSE (Ages 15-19)	1960	1985
Car Accident	36	34
Suicide	3.6	10
White Males	5.9	17.3
Indian Males	-- -	33.0
Homicide		
Non-white Males	27.6	39.9
Non-white Females	7.0	9.4

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Trends in Well Being of American Youth, 1988, p. 100-102 and Congress, OTA, Indian Mental Health, 1990, p. 17.

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In this context, Susan Millstein's essay written for the Carnegie Commission on Adolescent Development, becomes quite relevant. Millstein argues that the delivery of adolescent health care services should be a source of particular concern for policy makers for four reasons. First, she writes, adolescents are the only group for whom mortality rates have increased from 1960 through 1981, although they have now leveled off. According to Millstein, nationally 55% of adolescent deaths are due to accidents (37% motor vehicle); homicide is the primary cause of death for black males; and suicide accounts for 10% of the adolescent mortality rate in the United States. Second, the primary causes of adolescent death are preventable, including accidents, homicides, suicides, substance abuse, etc. Third, adolescents are an underserved population who under-utilize services that are available. While adolescents constitute 17% of the United States population, they account for 11% of the visits to private physicians, and as many as 12% report no regular source of health care. Citing a study from the state of California, Millstein reports that 11% to 44% of adolescents attending school-linked health clinics reported no contact with medical systems two to three years prior. And fourth, adolescents pose particular challenges to health care practitioners including barriers such as cost, confidentiality consent, and finally, access.

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Sexuality

Sexuality and reproduction represent critical areas for investigating behaviorally induced health risks of adolescents which can be easily prevented and/or responded to within schools. The National Research Council (1989) Report on AIDS, sexual behavior, and intravenous drug use details that by age nineteen 83% of young men and 74% of young women have engaged in sexual intercourse. The trouble in this country is not that adolescents are more likely to engage in sexual activity, but United States teens are, relative to their international counterparts, undereducated about sexuality, and have relatively constrained access to contraception or abortion. A full 50% of United States teens report they did not use contraception during their first experience of intercourse. And many use contraception irregularly thereafter. The New York State Child and Adolescent Health Profile for 1986 documents that for New York State, young women aged fifteen through eighteen had 37.1 live births per 1,000 women and 45.4 induced abortions. New York City reports 49.8 live births per 1000 young women and 64.9 included abortions. And the Bronx reports 69.9 live births per 1,000 young women, with 76.7 induced abortions (1986)[4].

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[4] Mott and Marsiglio's analysis of the National Labor Survey Work Experience of Youth that for young women aged twenty through twenty-six, reports that 50% of those who gave birth at sixteen had completed high school by age twenty, whereas 90% who waited until age twenty, completed their high school degrees. And among the children of adolescent mothers, every additional year of maternal education diminishes the likelihood of a child being retained in grade by almost 50%.

The National Research Council (NRC) provides information on sexual behavior, pregnancy, births and abortions and informs that exclusively homosexual male adolescents and sexually active teenage women have the highest [age] rates of gonorrhea, cytomegalovirus, chlamydia and pelvic inflammatory disease of any age/sex group. Likewise, Susan Millstein reports that sexually transmitted diseases occur at higher rates among adolescents than among any other group with 25% of adolescents infected before graduating high school. The NRC quotes the National Academy of Science recommendation that "school-based educational programs are an essential part of efforts to increase awareness of the risk of HIV and combat the spread...", citing evidence that a Harris poll indicates that 94% of polled parents approve of AIDS education in schools.

Environmental Risks

Beyond behaviorally-induced health risks to adolescents, there are environmental risks to this age group which may be situated in schools, or prevented through environmental education. The New York State Child and Adolescent Health Profile details the incidence of lead poisoning to be substantially higher for low income, black and inner city children than their peers, and reported in 1986 that of the more than 264,000 children and adolescents screened, 17,457 revealed a possible association to lead poisoning (1986; see also Needleman and Gatsonis, 1990; United States Environmental Protection Agency, 1989). Like lead

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poisoning, exposure to asbestos also affects children both in their schools and out. The E.P.A., in a June 1989 report, estimates that asbestos containing materials exist in most of the nation's 107,000 primary and secondary schools. Subcommittee Hearings in the House of Representatives on Asbestos in Schools (1987) heard testimony from the National Educational Association which held that for fiscal year 1988 the President tried to rescind all funding for grants and loans under the Asbestos School Hazards Abatement Act, keeping small amounts for technical assistance. A G.A.O. study indicates that 7% of all school districts in the United States had one or more buildings with what is called friable asbestos. The cost of clean up was estimated to be between $1.5 to $3 billion dollars. The conclusion drawn was that federal funding is both necessary and ethically demanded by the situation.

Michael Gough, in analysis of asbestos control in schools (1988) writes that because the federal government chose schools as the first target for E.P.A. action on asbestos, schools have become the site in which strategies for removal have been most clearly negotiated. In 1982, buildings were to be inspected with results reported. At this time, however, there were no standards specifying when removal would be required, or when remedial actions were to be taken. Local inspections estimated that 35,000 of 110,000 schools had friable asbestos containing materials. By 1987, the E.P.A. developed the Asbestos Containing Materials in Schools Rule, such that local educational agencies had to inspect all schools and make available. But there were still no standards

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for determining when asbestos-containing materials posed a risk. Gough's argument is that the refusal to acknowledge the importance of determining exposure levels before requiring action may actually heighten exposure insofar as asbestos removal can exacerbate the concentrations. Schools need to know when to act, but also when not to act (1988).

Putting children, adolescents and their educators at increased risk of liver cancer, is another environmental threat, Radon-22. A colorless, odorless, tasteless and radioactive gas, Radon-22, if found in a building, can increase health risks (Environmental Protection Agency, 1985). Elevated concentrations have been found in Schools in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Florida, Washington, New York, Minnesota, Ohio, California, Tennessee and Illinois. Radon measurements are a function of heating, ventilation, air conditioning, and it appears that:

> "school occupancy patterns have a varying effect on radon concentrations. Unlike homes, schools are normally closed on weekends and overnight ... This could have an affect on radon concentrations" EPA, (4).

While this present report will not investigate the effects of lead poisoning, asbestos or radon exposure on school children, in part due to insufficient data, these features of school environments are nevertheless critical to the questions of the impact of such environments on adolescent well being.

As another form of environmental risk in schools, the presence or absence of health promotion education is discussed in the work of Parcel and colleagues (1987). Relying upon indicators of

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physical well being, Parcel and others have documented that American children are less fit than children in Great Britain and Denmark, and that American youths are fatter than their international peers. The reason that Parcel's work is useful for this essay is that although his focus is on elementary schools, his work has lead him to recognize that classroom instruction on "health promotion" is insufficient, and that school-wide cognitive, affective, and systemic interventions are necessary. Students can not practice health promotion if they are fed high fat and high sodium food and denied access to high intensity physical activities. For the purpose of this essay, physical health promotion should be seen as a component, and an illustration, of what healthful educational communities would look like.

Go For Health, a three year health promotion project, was designed to reduce cardiovascular disease in elementary schools. In a study of third and fourth graders, 62% Anglo, 21% Mexican American, 14% Black, 2% Asians, Parcel found that schools de-promoted health. Parcel found that school lunches were served to 60% of students in the United States public school system, provided 25% to 33% of the daily calories, and offered high fat, high sodium, and generally poor diets.

> As a percent of calories served, school lunch provided 29.3% more total fat than recommended...
>
> The amount of sodium served was 107.4 percent greater than the maximum recommended". (p. 152)

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In concert with low nutrition lunches, Parcel et. al. documented that of the total minutes available for physical education, 33% was used for tasks of management, 41% for games and free play, 17% for fitness activities, and 6% was spent in activities that were potentially aerobic. From these data, it appears that physical education provides inadequate time in motion, so much so that students in school do not move for nearly 50% of the time in physical education class.

All this discouraging evidence notwithstanding, Parcel continues to be convinced that health promotion structures must combine health education with organizational, political, and economic interventions to improve/protect and help students take responsibility for their own health. Parcel agrees with other theorists, and Millstein in particular, that schools are precisely the site for such intervention:

> Schools have a greater capacity than any other single agency to implement such structures and, consequently, to help estimate critical health behaviors among children and youth. (1988, p. 935).

He writes, through social learning theory, that a health promotion project requires administrative supports; institutional commitment; teachers' and students' collective involvement in planning and training, altered policies and practices, altered roles and actions of the staff; ongoing monitoring and feedback.

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Social Health

A final area of adolescent health concerns what might be called social health, that is, the extent to which students consider themselves concerned with and active on social issues. Two pieces of data from the Youth Indicators Report suggest that youth today are substantially less socially concerned than was the case over the past twenty years, as measured by the incidence of voting behavior and their views of social leadership and involvement in community issues. On both indicators, there are dramatic declines in adolescent "social health."

Voting behavior by eighteen to twenty-four year olds in the Presidential election dropped from a high in 1964 (52% of whites and 44.2% of blacks) to 45% of whites, 27.9% of blacks, and 21.8% of Latinos in 1976, to a low of 41.6% of whites, 40.6% of Blacks and 21.9% of Latinos in 1984. While Blacks were more likely to vote in 1984 than 1976, the trends across racial/ethnic groups among adolescents reflect an ambivalent commitment to voting as a form of social involvement.

These voting patterns converge problematically with data on percent of high school seniors who rate specific life values as "very important". Data from 1972 to 1986 demonstrate a dramatic decline in the importance of social concerns (See Table 5), such that being a "community leader" or "correcting inequalities" have lost their import to adolescents. Questions of citizenship, active involvement in democratic politics and creating community are raised by these data.

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Table 5
Percent of High School Seniors Who Rate Life Values
As "Very Important"

	1972		1986	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
success in work	86.5	83	84	77.2
lots of money	26	9.8	27.8	16.9
community leader	14.9	8.0	9.5	4.5
correcting inequalities	22.5	31.1	10.7	10.9

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1988

Summary

In terms of physical, behavioral, sexual and social health, evidence accumulates to suggest that teens are in more trouble today than they have been in the recent past. And that this trouble has more devastating consequences, particularly for low income youths of color. But the very good news in this overview is that adolescents are in trouble in ways that lend themselves to the restructuring of school based environments. The text turns now to those environments.

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Public Middle and Secondary Schools in Context

The Politics of "Standards", Testing and Financing

To understand today's middle and secondary school environments, it is essential to review the "Reform" movements of the 1980's as they have affected public schools.

The spate of "reforms" which characterized the early 1980s focused primarily on raising standards. Chris Pipho reports that in 1986 the reform movement focussed on more rigid standards of "excellence" for students, and greater recognition and status for teachers. Since 1980, he writes, 45 states and the District of Columbia have changed requirements for earning high school diplomas, primarily through increased course units. The length of the school day has been changed, or so recommended, in thirteen states and D.C. And in twelve states, the teaching career ladders have been altered.

Pallas, Natriello and McDill (1987) argue that these aspects of the 1980's reform movement have proved to be particularly burdensome for low income students. The increase in course content, for instance has served to alienate marginal students who seem to be most attached to courses offered outside the core curriculum. While Pallas et. al. argue it is generally recognized that more time in school or on homework is associated with a higher G.P.A., students who are most at risk of failure tend to be in the

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least good position to devote more time to school or homework (for alternative view, see Walberg, 1988). Family, economic and social responsibilities are time consuming and multiple for these adolescents, because of the deeply complicated social and kin networks in which they survive. Increased time devoted to coursework would in all likelihood diminishes time for extra-curricular activities which tends to correlate, particularly for marginal students, with academic progress, heightened self-expectations, reduced frequency of delinquency, and increased persistence in school (1987).

Further, the institutionalization of higher achievement standards has been problematic, according to Pallas et. al., because educators have no support provided to help all students achieve these standards. Accordingly, there is ample evidence that disproportionately low expectations are held for Blacks, Latinos, low income, disabled, limited English-proficient, and female students, and that teachers are almost never given ample time and creative space to generate instructional practices appropriate to such heterogeneous groups of students, higher standards seem to the authors to be an empty gesture which may only hurt low achieving students by pushing them out of school prior to graduation.

If Pallas, et.al. were discouraged about tightened course content, increased time in school, and higher standards, they were much more convinced that a reform strategy toward reduced school size could produce real changes in student outcomes, particularly for marginal students (discussed later). They reiterated what others have found -- that smaller size of school is highly correlated with positive student outcomes, and particularly so, for marginal students.

Haney and Madaus (1989; see also Haney, 1981; Madaus, 1986) analyzed another area of the early 1980's "reform movement," in a quite critical review of the emerging relationship between Minimum Competency Testing and district-wide drop out rates. These authors write that the recent national shift toward the widespread use of M.C.T.s has had profound and devastating consequences for students' academic performance, and even more so have depressed the rates of persistence for "at risk" students. As of the time of their writing, twenty-four states used M.C.T.s for graduation purposes: twelve for promotion; twenty-four for remediation, and one for entrance into the first grade. Analyzing the ten states with the highest and lowest drop out rates, Kreitzer, et. al. found a clear relationship between the administration of M.C.T.s and high attrition rates. Recognizing a great lack of evidence, and so cautious about specifying a causal link, these scholars nevertheless write that the most adverse consequences of failing M.C.T.s do and will continue to fall disproportionately on students who can least afford it -- that is, low income, Black and Latino students.

To illustrate, they report that on the first administration of the Texas Educational Assessment of Basic Skills, 48% of bilingual students failed the language arts section. Likewise, 25% of black eleventh graders, compared to 4% of white eleventh graders, failed the North Carolina High School Competency Test reading section. And in New Jersey, it has been documented that strong negative correlation exists between percent minority enrollment in a District, and pass rates on the High School Proficiency Test.

Severe psychological and academic consequences also seem to follow failure on M.C.T.s. Citing a study by Richman, Browne, and Clark, these researchers report on a pre/post survey of students whose grades, achievement tests, and academic tracking would have predicted their failure on the North Carolina Minimum Competency Examination. Students who failed the M.C.T. scored higher than those who passed, on alienation, anxiety, neuroticism, apprehension and reduced self-esteem. Those who passed, despite predictions, demonstrated no increment in self esteem. The adverse consequences of such testing were clear, while the beneficial consequences remained remote.

If M.C.T.s have inequitable class and race impact and adverse psychological consequence, they are also deeply implicated in the recent proliferation of "promotional gates" -- test based decisions to promote students to the next grade level or not -- which are intimately tied to swelled drop out rates. Reviewing recent data on the relation of retention in grade to drop out rates, these researchers compared fourteen year old ninth graders in Chicago, who tend to drop out at a rate of 37% from Chicago's public schools, to fifteen year old ninth graders who drop out at rates of approximately 60% and sixteen year olds at rates of 69%. Even

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with ability levels statistically controlled, retention in grade contributes enormously to drop out rates. A New York City Board of Education evaluation of its own Gates Program documents that 23.2% of those retained in grade versus 16% of ability-based comparison others ultimately dropped out of high school. Simply put, retention rates correlate with dropping out.

And yet a final layer of adverse impact of M.C.T.s, articulated by Haney and Madaus and argued vehemently by teachers since the testing industry began to flourish, is that the proliferation of M.C.T.s inhibits creative pedagogy. Most writers and policy analysts agree that high stakes M.C.T. encourage "teaching to the test", but disagree about whether this is good news or bad. These writers, educational test developers and statisticians themselves, worry that while these tests are designed to measure the effectiveness of broad based interventions, the proliferation and overly broad application of M.C.T.s has promoted a watering down and atomizing of curricula, which are now being driven by standardized tests.

A neat, if troubling, example of these dilemmas falls out of an analysis conducted by Gary Gottfredson (1988) of one urban school system's implementation of an educational reform program directed at establishing "higher standards". This Southeastern state passed an education reform act which called for the testing of all students in specified grades with criterion-referenced exams, and all remaining students with norm-based standardized achievement tests. Standards for promotion from grade to grade were established, in part, on the basis of these standardized test scores.

In this evaluation, Gottfredson learned that improvements in test scores were yolked to a dramatic increase in "overage students". There are, he writes, two problems. First, the test score data "imply remarkable progress for this school distribution" but the test is administered to students in-grade such that only eighth graders take the eighth grade competency test. But fewer than half of the students of the eighth grade age were actually in the eighth grade (or higher) at the time of test administration because over 50% of students around age thirteen had been retained at least once. When test scores were re-computed by age, rather than grade, the impression of "remarkable progress" shriveled.

The second problem was, of course, the large number of overage students, who, according to reliable evidence, represent substantially diminished probabilities of graduating, relative to on-level peers. Gottfredson, after interviewing administrators, counselors, and teachers, concluded that:

> this district has focussed on improving test scores, has had no systematic and highly visible way of monitoring other outcomes (such as grade retention) and it has got what it measured and got what it didn't: test scores in grade have gone up but so has the age of the population tested in each grade (1988, p.6)

These scholars, like Grant Wiggins (1989), Dennie Wolf (1989), and Deborah Meier (1987) register enormous concern that the proliferation of standardized testing is not only expensive, burdensome to the curriculum and instructor, and undermining of

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teachers, but is truly marginalizing to those students (and educators) already marginalized in their schools. In the name of "standards", public schools appear to be losing students who need the most help.

Financing Trends

If the reforms of the early 1980s neglected marginal and low income students, then parallel trends in public school financing have, according to some analysts, abandoned these same students. As noted above the federal portion of educational budgets has fallen dramatically in the 1980's. Thomas Corcoran (1986), in expert testimony in the *Abbott versus Burke* case on school financing (New Jersey Supreme Court), testified to the importance of equitable financing, particularly in local income districts. Corcoran addressed four questions in his report:

1. Does the level of fiscal resources available to a school district influence the quality of its schools and its ability to satisfy the constituency guaranteed of a "Through and Efficient" system of public schooling (as stipulated in New Jersey law)?
2. Have the state standards been properly defined and monitored?
3. Has the law worked to remedy educational inadequacies?

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4. Will low wealth districts be able to meet the needs of the children they serve in the future if the current arrangements are continued?

Abbott v. Burke was a case contesting financing disparities between low and high wealth districts in the state of New Jersey. Corcoran argued that disparities in financing are inequitable and produced inadequate educational levels. As to his first question, scanning the literatures from Coleman forward, he acknowledges that the research findings have been ambiguous, in large part due to its reliance on gross indicators of wealth and expenditures. He concluded that districts and schools with the greatest special needs and deficits typically receive fewer resources and have more strings attached to their revenues than their peer institutions do, when indeed they need proportionately more resources and more flexibility. Corcoran argued that for schools to be effective, they require higher adult to student ratios; more faculty than currently available given allotment formula; clean, comfortable, and safe environments; sufficient materials; regular and on-going staff development; special project fundings; relatively more (not less) experienced staff; extra-curricular activities; and district-wide relatively fewer non-teaching assignments to teachers. Short-term fiscal "efficiency", he argues, is enormously inefficient in the long rung.

Beyond the resources required to create such educational environments, Corcoran reviewed the class size literature and concludes that with the exception of Herbert Wallberg's work, smaller class size (particularly down to fifteen) does seem to enhance student outcomes (particularly for disadvantaged students), and to cost more money.

Corcoran concluded his report in response to question four, in which he argued that school districts, particularly those in low income communities, can not rely on state and local taxes for the bulk of their finances without fiscal and therefore educational disparities being exacerbated. In 1984-85, the wealthiest school districts in New Jersey had approximately 350 times the equalized property valuation per pupil as the lowest wealth school district. While the state's mean equalized valuation per pupil was $190,401, Camden averaged $26,055, Newark $38,585, and Princeton $547,384. Ironically, the lowest wealth districts were found to have made a greater tax effort than the state's mean, and yet, of course their efforts were highly inadequate to the task (see Abbott v. Burke, 1988; Sherman, 1987).

Margaret Goertz of the Educational Testing Service also testified in this case (see Abbottt v. Burke, 1988). By combining all state aid including categorical aid and local revenue, she found that a difference of $1200 between the highest and the lowest current expenditure district per pupil nevertheless persisted. Districts with the lowest wealth groups tend, of course, to be districts with the greatest needs. In New Jersey, the two lowest wealth communities account for 28% of the students in the state, 69% of the minority population, 59% of the compensatory education and 71% of the bilingual students. They also have lowest pass

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rates on the High School Proficiency Test (an exit exam for high school), and student populations that are highly residentially mobile. The wealthier districts had 29% more certified professional staff per 1,000 students than the lowest income districts, and the lowest spending districts had 18% staff with fewer than five years experience, compared with 8% in the highest spending districts.

Marilyn Morheuser argued that "municipal overburden", in which low income cities have disproportionately high tax rates and diminished ability to attract new businesses, grows exacerbated by such state-level neglect. One might still ask, does money make a difference? The data are reviewed below.

Neighborhoods, Schools and Adolescent Well Being

Christopher Jencks and Susan Mayer, in a comprehensive analysis of social class, neighborhood, and school effects on youth, take the position that in order to disaggregate school effects, researchers must account for family income, neighborhood characteristics, attributes of schools and student populations in the aggregate (1989). The Social Consequences of Growing Up in a Poor Neighborhood (Jencks and Mayer, 1989) stands as a critique of the so-called "Black Box Model" of neighborhood and school effects, and attempts to unpack the layers of social and economic influences which affect student outcomes. Thoroughly reviewing the findings and the methodological problems with this body of literature, they detail first the methodological problems, including: (1) the

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typical absence of controls for exogenous influences, such as neighborhood versus family effects; (2) the infrequent longitudinal versus more typical cross sectional approaches to social research which can not capture change over time; (3) the naive assumption of linear and positive effects of social-economic neighborhood status, in which it is presumed that crime levels improve if low income individuals move to "better" neighborhoods; (4) the rare disaggregation of neighborhood S.E.S. and individual S.E.S; (5) the questionable selection of appropriate measures of neighborhood composition, such as median family income, educational level, occupation, percent family female headed, percent AFDC, problems with composite SES; (6) and the difficulties of estimating neighborhood effects.

With these methodological caveats acknowledged, Jencks and Mayer maintain, overall, that a school's mean SES has only a small positive effect on individual students' college plans, and that schools' mean test scores also have only a small negative effect. Asking the question "Are low SES students particularly sensitive to the SES of their peers?" Jencks and Mayer conclude that high SES schools appear to enhance the outcomes of high and low SES students. This appears to be more true for Black students who, if they attend a high SES school, demonstrate a strong positive relationship between mean school SES and mean school test scores with college attendance rates.

Even more than influencing college attendance, however, a school's social composition seems to influence its dropout rates.

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Relying on the High School and Beyond survey, Jencks and Mayer write that as the mean SES of a school drops and economic diversity and proportion of minority students increase, drop out rates increase. Jencks and Mayer conclude this section of their manuscript by explaining that growing up in a high SES neighborhood increases adolescents' expected educational attainment. But neighborhood mix, they conclude, bears greater effects on educational outcomes than does school mix.

Looking next at cognitive skills, Jencks and Mayer take issue with Coleman's original work (Coleman, 1975), critiquing his measure of mean school SES (which was the percent of students owning an encyclopedia) and his family measures (which they consider limited, with no direct measure of parental income or occupational status). Jencks and Brown found the variance between high schools quality to explain less than 1% of achievement variance. Jencks and Mayer conclude this section by stating that a high school's mean SES bears little effect on student's cognitive skills, but that a school's racial composition seems, at least in the North, to bear positive long term consequences for blacks attending predominantly white schools. Confirming this finding is a longitudinal study by Crain and Strauss (1985) in which Black students bussed to predominantly white schools were followed over a twelve year period. Those Black students who remained in the racially mixed high schools were found to be more likely (post-graduation) to be working in white collar occupations (30% of students from desegregated schools versus 13% of control school

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students; Black females held more prestigious jobs, and Black males earned 7% more than their peers who remained in segregated schools.

Jencks and Mayer, in sum, argue that the social class mix of a neighborhood more dramatically affects students' outcomes than does the social class or racial mix of a school. They do, however, document some discernable impacts of school mix, particularly for low income, marginal achieving and/or black students.

Advancing the argument that schools do not substantially influence academic outcomes, Shanahan and Walberg (1985) and Staver and Walberg (1986) report on their analyses of High School and Beyond data, in which they investigated the hypothesis of private school superiority, set forth by Coleman (1982) and Coleman and Kilgore (1982). What Walberg and colleagues argue is that private schools are not themselves responsible for enhanced student outcomes, but that what they call "fixed" student characteristics, and outside school experiences, are responsible, including number of hours of homework per week, and number of television hours per day. Simply stated, these researchers found that "fixed" variables, such as parental SES, student age, sex and ethnicity, and other student traits such as locus of control and amount of work for money outside of school, were more influential in predicting student outcomes than were variables that "seem alterable by educators" which included school discipline or order, facilities and curriculum. This research raises important questions about the assumptions of what is "fixed" in students, and whether school-based structures and processes can be altered to

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enhance academic outcomes. It is possible, as I will argue later in this text, that as currently constructed, most public middle and secondary schools do fail to interrupt "pre-existing" background disparities. But reliable, and rapidly accumulating knowledge about strategies for transforming middle and secondary schools indicates that the disparities introduced by background influences, which may serve as inhibitors to learning, can be minimized. The literatures on how to transform schools toward this end are reviewed below.

High School Organization and Its Effects on Teachers and Students

Tony Bryk, Valerie Lee and Julia Smith (1989) provide a comprehensive and critical review of the quantitative sociological literatures on school environments as they affect both teachers and students. Beginning with a critique of Coleman et. al. (1966) they challenge seriously those large scale quantitative investigations of school effects in which outputs are measured simply in terms of years of education and earnings, and in which school organizations, policies, practices and processes are rendered invisible by the analysis. They offer instead a multi-level conceptualization of schooling, which addresses: (1) School organization, including the structures, beliefs, administration, organization of work, external environment of the school, parents, governance, etc; (2) Teacher outcomes including satisfaction, sense of efficacy, morale, commitment of effort; and (3) Student outcomes, including student

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achievement and student engagement. They argue theoretically and methodologically that it is imperative to distinguish between schools as organizations and the institutional processes of schooling.

Looking first at Characteristics of School Organizations, Bryk et al. review the evidence on school size as it affects student outcomes. They begin with a critical reflection on James Conant's The American High School Today, in which Conant (1959) advocated for the consolidation of multiple small schools into large comprehensive high schools. With such a consolidation, he argued, diverse course offerings could be made available; more students could have more access to a more differentiated curriculum; and costs can be held to a minimum. Bryk et. al. demonstrate meticulously that in the name of consolidation what we have today are highly differentiated high schools in which bureaucracy has expanded exponentially into redundance and rigidification; students are more passive; teachers more alienated; and educational outcomes more polarized. Challenging the initial assumption that large, comprehensive high schools require less administrative support, Chambers (1981) provides evidence that large schools often require more support and administrative staff on site to support the bureaucracies of large scale schooling.

A second assumption underlying the efficiency argument is that in comprehensive high schools more students enjoy access to more materials and more resources. Bryk et. al. demonstrate that the relationship of school system size and resource availability is

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uneven across communities, and dependent largely on the SES of individual communities. Large, poor districts, for instance, may get more diversified resources in total, but confront many more problems with student health, language, welfare, housing, academic difficulties, etc. and receive monies incompatible with needs. To the extent that urban, poor districts do have access to additional resources, there are usually more strings attached in low income districts (e.g. federal categorical monies). "More money" is too simple a variable to presume it highly associated with "better student outcomes".

The third question that emerges within the consolidation debate concerns the relationship of organizational size and program specialization. Here Bryk, et. al. have done some of their most compelling work. Lee and Bryk have found (1989) that fine-grained curriculum offerings in larger schools seems to be associated with dramatically increased differences in student outcomes based on student background. The result is a substantially greater polarization of positive and negative student outcomes inside schools in which differentiation is deeply and institutionally embedded.

Bryk, et. al. demonstrate that Bureaucratic Formalization, in which layers of management and supervision prevail and which maybe attributable to the increased size of these institutions, has dramatic and damaging consequence to curricular differentiation and to nurturing a sense of educational community. Relying on the High School and Beyond data set, Bryk and Driscoll (198) demonstrate that the larger the school, the more teachers and students express negative attitudes toward their schools. Bryk and Driscoll report that with increased numbers of students, schools experience: an increase in the complexity of the communications; a need for more formal mechanisms of communication; a more formalized division of labor into compartmentalized and static roles; alienation and social disengagement by faculty and students. They write:

> In general, the negative effects associated with large schools, as predicted by a communitarian perspective, have dominated both recent case study reports and survey analyses. (p. 14).

Turning to school-wide SES composition, Lee and Bryk (1987) report that a school's SES mix correlates with mean student achievement in math, and appears to mediate the relationship between individual student SES and achievement. However, what is most interesting about these data is that social class emerges as a substantially more powerful mediator of outcomes in public schools than in Catholic schools. That is, the structures and/or processes of Catholic parochial schools seem to neutralize, relatively, the disparate impact of individual and school SES on student achievement. Pursuing this finding of Coleman et. al., Lee and Bryk found that in Catholic schools students across academic ability levels were involved in more academic course taking (in math) because of the constrained curriculum offerings, and that a

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proactive, academic encouraging environment was found in these schools.

Turning finally to ability mix, Bryk, et al. cite Michael Rutter's study of low income London secondary schools in which Rutter et al found that one predictor of an academically successful high school is the degree to which the student body is academically heterogeneous. More precisely, Rutter concluded that schools need a substantial nucleus of average to above average intellectual ability students in order to achieve *school-wide* (not merely individual) academic success and to reduce delinquency rates (198).

Bryk et. al. argue for a "communitarian perspective" on schooling, rather than a "bureaucratic perspective". From such a perspective, they maintain that only gross differences in academic ability levels deserve tailored institutional responses. And they advocate that public schools should seek out and create *common* experiences for students, pressing *academic course taking* and *constrained curricular offering for diverse populations.* In sum, they write:

> High schools are probably more internally differentiated now then can be justified on scientific grounds. (Bryk, et. al., 21)

Reflections on the Impact of Neighborhoods and Schooling.

I have spent considerable time reviewing Jencks and Mayer, and Bryk, Lee and Smith, because together they provide compelling and contrasting pictures of the limits and the possibilities for school-based interventions toward adolescent outcomes. While

Jencks and Mayer demonstrate that neighborhoods are relatively more powerful predictors of adolescent outcomes than schools are, Bryk and colleagues reveal the substantial impact that school environments can have on adolescents. (These arguments get particularly problematic when considering the needs of Indian children who have been forcibly removed from their communities of origin.)

As a society, we have three choices with respect to the relation of public schooling and adolescent outcomes. Public schools can *exacerbate* existing disparities in academic, economic, social and health outcomes. Schools can, alternatively, be *neutral tunnels* through which these disparities continue, unabated (Walberg, 1986). Or public schools can take the position that they must be leaders *among public institutions committed to minimizing the disparities*, transforming the conditions of inequity (for students and teachers) and engaging students in the process of creating better conditions for themselves. If we elect to pursue the third course, we need to understand questions of creating educational communities --questions of tracking and the internal organization of schools; questions of teachers' involvement in decision making and policy setting; questions of parent involvement in school matters; and ultimately questions of "what works" -- for whom, and with what impact and what controversies?

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The Argument for Educational Communities

> I am urging a definition of good schools that
> sees them whole, changing and imperfect.
>
> Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, (1983) p. 34

Like Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, Michael Rutter sought to understand the conditions under which secondary schools could influence positively the quality of education experienced by low income adolescents. He understood that Coleman had determined family background to be substantially more important a predictor of student outcome than was school experience (and that Coleman concluded therefore, that school financing was irrelevant to quality outcomes). And he understood that Christopher Jencks and Martha Brown (1975) had documented school factors to account for only a small percent of the variance in adolescent outcomes. Rutter nevertheless noted a series of problems with these analysts' methods, such as reliance on verbal dependent variables; narrow analysis of school process variables; a confounding of economic inequity with quality of education. Rutter sought to understand, by studying life inside twelve secondary schools in lower class Britain, how it is that public institutions could successfully effect student outcomes.

He noticed, first:

> [L]arge and important differences between secondary schools in each and every measure of pupil success or outcome, even after all possible due allowance had been made for variations between the schools in the program

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> of behaviorally difficult, socially disadvantage or low-attaining pupils they admitted (210).

In an analysis of 1500 "cohort" children and 3485 children in total, Rutter et. al. conducted longitudinal research in which they surveyed these youths as ten year olds in 1970, and then 66% of them again in 1974, as fourteen year olds, attending any of the twenty non-selective schools in inner London. Tracking for attendance, behavior, academic and delinquency outcomes, Rutter and colleagues stipulated that:

> although schools differed in the proportion of behavior problems, difficult or low achievement children they admitted, these differences did not wholly account for the variations between schools in their pupils' later behaviors and attendance... (177)

Indeed Rutter et. al. found that across these schools results ranged enormously, from 70% above expectations to 55% below. Large variations between schools, which were not attributable to student intake characteristics, encouraged Rutter to calculate what he called a Combined School Process measure which ultimately correlated with academic achievement at a level of 0.76. School Process included the degree of academic emphasis, teachers' instructional practices, the availability of incentives and rewards for student performance, and the degree to which youths were encouraged and able to participate and take responsibility for their own, and others' outcomes. Rutter grew convinced that a composite measure of School Process could, and did, affect students' outcomes. Rutter found no correlation between level of institutional resources and student achievement (although below a

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certain threshold, he documents students did suffer), no correlation between school size and achievement, and no correlation between organization structure and achievement. He did, however, find significant correlations between an institutional orientation toward punishment and increased and worsened behavior. He reported further that a "balance of intake" - that is, an intellectual mix of students -- was highly associated with positive educational outcomes. Rutter found that a school could "work" educationally if students were engaged in an academic atmosphere, with a heterogenous mix of peers, exposed to a rich display of affection and rewards and a severely limited amount of punishment, and invited to participate actively and critically with teachers in the democratic construction of their communities.

In the conclusion of their book, Rutter and his colleagues go to extraordinary lengths to argue that they believe their evidence demonstrates a causal relationship between School Process and student outcomes. Bolstered by systematic, deep, qualitative and quantitative evidence, as well as longitudinal patterns, they conclude:

> We have suggested that there is a causal relation between School Process and children's progress... Perhaps the most crucial point concerns the pattern of relationships with school process. The question is whether schools were as they were because of the children they admitted, or rather whether children behaved in the way they did because of school influences. Of course, interaction will take place in both directions, but the much greater relation between School Process and children's behavior/attendance at the *end* of secondary schooling strongly implies a greater effect of schools on children than of children on schools (180-181).

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Indeed, if they claim causality, they also claim depth and breadth of schools' impact. Schools not only bear dramatic consequence for academic behavior, but School Process also affects adolescent outcomes that are typically assumed unaffected by school organization, such as delinquency rates. Rutter et. al. discovered that delinquency rates dropped in schools where courses were planned jointly by teams of faculty. This finding suggests that the establishment of a sense of community among faculty and among students may well diminish the incidence of delinquent behaviors. Likewise, schools in which students were praised often and punished little were schools in which delinquency rates were low. And finally, schools in which students participated actively and were involved in taking responsibility for self and/or others, were schools with relatively high attendance, few behavior problems and low delinquency rates.

Consistent with the research of Michael Rutter, James Garbarino and E. Elliott Asp, in their book *Successful Schools and Competent Students* (1981), write that school success must be constructed around concerns for what they call "human quality". Writing from a developmental perspective in which they view students as deeply embedded within the community-school-home mesosystem, their work is located within and between these social and dynamic contexts, and begins with the premise that having a rich range of mesosystems is a developmental opportunity -- and one that is disproportionately inaccessible to disadvantaged youths.

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Students' lives are nested within exosystems (situations with bearing on a child's development but over which a child has no control, e.g., a factory closing) and within macrosystems (e.g. social institutions and ideologies). To the extent that any one of these systems suffers and thereby imposes a risk on child/adolescent development, the remaining systems must pick up the slack. It is no small irony, then, that for low income, disadvantaged youths the collapse of one system typically precipitates the collapse of others. With no one picking up, but the adolescent him/herself.

Relying on educational attainment as their measure of successful schooling, Garbarino and Asp demonstrate that number of years completed tends to be positively associated with "life success", social status, and negatively related to involvement in criminal activity. It serves as a positive predictor of quality of child care offered to one's own children, in the form of "cognitively sophisticated use of language", and positively correlate with "political competence". Garbarino and Asp detail three institutional conditions required for high levels of school persistence.

Institutional support for attendance figures first, and they write of all the ways in which institutions exclude (actively and passively as well as legally and illegally) large groups of students from access to education. Orientation to academic information figures second, in which they demonstrate dramatically that social class is a substantially better predicator, in this

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culture, of likelihood of attending college than is cognitive capacity. Referring to research by Sewell, they write that controlling for ability levels, students from the top income quartile are four times more likely to attend college than those from the bottom. And citing research by Bowles and Gintis, they write that controlling for academic ability, children from the top 10% of the income groupings are twelve times more likely to attend college as those from the bottom 10%. They conclude that few adolescents lack the "cognitive capacity" to either graduate from high school or pursue higher education; but many lack the financial resources.

Third, students need to demonstrate "prosocial behavior" which falls in compliance with bureaucratic rules in order to persist in high school. Suspensions and expulsions "clear out the aliens" -- and evidence from the National Coalition of Advocates for Students demonstrates that those "cleared out" today are disproportionately Black and Latino students (1988).

The point, for Garbarino and Asp, is that schools are primarily social and not cognitive institutions such that "making it" in these institutions is a social, rather than a cognitive, process. With enhanced motivation re-cast as their key malleable factor, schools need to engage more students toward "overachievement". They report Strodtbeck's finding that while 50% of high SES youth overachieve (that is attain grades which exceed their IQs), 35% of middle class students do the same, as opposed to 27% of poor students.

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Garbarino and Asp continue their argument:

> Since ability is secondary to motivation, school can be effective in shaping the level of success among their students. The problem is to identify ethically acceptable and socially possible sources of strength. The key to secondary schooling is to harness the motivation of the present (the competition for the peer recognition) and the motivation of the future (the transition to adulthood) and bring them to bear on the academic behavior of adolescent students. (91)

Extracting three critical factors for successful schools, they list (1) prior mastery of basic skills, (2) social forces of the school that attract the adolescent to the school and the process of schooling (social cohesion), and (3) social psychology of structures should respond to the tension of strong present orientation and future orientation. Simply put, to enhance motivation, schools need to produce a perception of and a reality that success in the present will be associated with success in the future. This point is particularly crucial for low income adolescents who witness, in their daily lives, little evidence of the relationship of "hard academic effort" and ultimate financial success in neighborhoods in which wealth and education only sometimes co-occur.

Framing an image of a successful school, Garbarino and Asp claim that an impersonal school environment not only adversely affects students' motivation and therefore achievement, but it increases institutional vulnerability to student initiated crime. If a school does not provide students with personal feedback and nurturance, that school can not function as a support system, and

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may prove to be precisely the kind of alienating environment that nurtures disruptive, "out of control" behaviors. Citing McPartland and Dill, that small schools are more responsive than large schools to students' needs, and that they suffer less crime, and citing others who write that large schools diminish meaningful participation in social activities and sense of responsibility (personal and institutional), particularly among marginal students, Garbarino and Asp conclude that the academic marginality and likelihood of delinquent behavior increase in large, impersonal institutions -- precisely the kinds of institutions attended by low income students. According to Garbarino and Asp, size and structure are something policy makers can do something about (see also Simmons and Blyth, 1987; Lipsitz, 1985).

Creating Communities in Middle Schools

While the evidence seems to be rather consistent that small and intimate, academic and rewarding, relational and continuous, and democratic and participatory work for secondary students, there has been recent and targeted theorizing, scholarships and writing on middle school experiences. Perhaps the most comprehensive analysis comes from the Carnegie Commission document. Like the work of Lipsitz and colleagues (1985), Turning Points focuses on adolescents aged ten through fifteen. Early adolescents, Carnegie authors describe, appear to drink too much, report being more heterosexually active than has been the case in the past, suffer a suicide rate twice that of the recent documented past, and some engage in serious delinquency which peaks at age fifteen. An analysis of early adolescents suggests that 41% of Latino females, 47% of Latino males, 33% of black females, 44% of black males, 22% of white females and 30% of white males are already overage for their grade by age thirteen to fourteen. Compounding this academic problem, 59% of Latino students have dropped out prior to tenth grade. Calculating risk using multiple indicators, the Carnegie Commission concludes that of 28 million young people aged ten through seventeen, approximately seven million, are extremely vulnerable to multiple high risk behaviors, and an additional seven million experience at least moderate risk.

Their recommendations, after reviewing the relevant literatures, echo much of what has been documented above. First, create educational communities for learning shared by adults and students; diminish the lack of integrated subject matter and discontinuous social experiences; assure a set of thoughtful and continuous adult/child relationships. Second, teach a common core, which aids to engage active and critical academic minds. Third, teach to a healthful lifestyle through active learning, and interdisciplinary curriculum. Fourth, ensure success for all. Here Commission members critique institutionalized tracking as generally divisive and damaging, reflective and productive of racial prejudices, and alienating. They suggest instead cooperative learning and cross age tutoring as alternatives. Fifth, empower teachers and administrators so that improved outcomes for young adolescents can be produced through the creative

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and unrestricted energies of flexible and responsive approaches by faculty and students. Sixth, and perhaps most controversial, middle schools must accept responsibility for the provision of health services, and the creation of schools as health promoting environments. Seventh, schools must re-energize and involve families. And eighth, schools need to work creatively at the school/community border through community service, access to health care, mentoring, career assistance, community members engaged as educators, etc.

The Carnegie report was popular and considered precedential not because of any of its recommendations was outrageous, new or subversive, but in part because the Report spoke to the not so popular view that schools can not measure their impact on the basis of high student/teacher ratios alone; that nurturance and academic relationality are essential to academic growth if more expensive in the short run; that public schools need to reconstruct how they conceptualize the borders of their work so that the "private problems" of adolescents and their kin are responded to within the walls of the public school, and not rendered "none of our business".

Echoing with praise the work of the Carnegie group, Janice Earle (1987) from the National Association of State Boards of Educators produced a document on middle schools, alerting policy makers and practitioners to the needed changes. Earle reports that schools of 600 to 1,000 appear to be optimal, such that students can identify with a subunit, float across classes in blocks of time, teachers can work collaboratively in teams, and view themselves as educators and counselors. Citing the influential work of Joyce Epstein, Earle envisions Schools at the Center, such that beginning in middle school (particularly with low income adolescents), schools can position themselves as working *with* communities, serving to find placements, exploring career options, and enticing parental involvement. The school, in this model, becomes a nexus for community, educator, and student development.

The Evidence on Size

School Size

Having reviewed as whole cloth, the analyses of Jencks and Mayer, Bryk, Lee and Smith, Garbarino and Asp, and *Turning Points*, this section will now separate a significant thread, **school-size,** as a critical variable in promoting or constraining adolescent student outcomes. Simply put, small seems to be better (Oxley, 1988), especially for marginal students and particularly if it is operationalized in terms of the actual *numbers* of students attending a school, as well as the *psychological experience* of an intimate educational community.

Beginning again with Garbarino (1980) we learn that school size matters most to academically and socially marginal students. Fine (1987), Foley and Crull (1984), and recently the Alaska Women's Commission (1990) confirm that the sense of alienation expressed by dropouts and marginal students is perhaps best mitigated by numerically and psychological "shrunk" academic

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environments. Garbarino takes issue with the quantitative, linear analyses of size, maintaining that school size functions more like a dichotomous variable. There is simply a size threshold beyond which size does not matter. Anonymity is anonymity no matter how many people do not know you.

Large schools promote a universalistic rather than particularistic perspective on students. They encourage passivity rather than participation, and they stress, by definition, the need to control students rather than to critically engage. Garbarino finds that in small schools, academically marginal students are four times more active than in large schools, and they display a substantially greater sense of responsibility for the school. Small schools report lower levels of vandalism, less anomie, and lower levels of victimization. Ironically, given these data by 1970, 85% of New York State, students were attending schools of more than 700 students. Garbarino concludes his essay:

> Small schools have become anachronistic at the same time that the need for them to promote social identity has grown markedly. (p. 29, 1980).

Pitman and Haughwout (1987), concerned with Conant's presumptions that big schools offer more curricular variety and equity, are relatively cost efficient, and that they provide students with more opportunities to participate in school life, have found that a full 100% increase in enrollment creates, on average, only 17% increase in variety of offerings. Second, they argue, as these institutions grow, they begin to support administratively the emergent bureaucracy and problems associated with insurgent anonymity they tend, ultimately, not to be cost efficient. And third, students' opportunities for participation grow at a rate substantially dwarfed by the increased numbers of students competing for the few slots of participation. Students in small schools, they write, participate in more activities and have substantially more diverse extra-curricular experiences than those in large institutions. Reviewing the literature on smallness, then, Pittman and Haughwout find that small schools tend to be higher in measures of warmth and the experienced press for achievement, report greater social cohesion and concern about others. Lindsay, as cited, also reports a negative relation of school size and attendance. And in an analysis of High School and Beyond, data from 1,015 secondary schools, thirty-six seniors and sophomores from each, Pittman and Haughwout found that school size correlates positively with drop out rates, negatively with climate (cohesion, participation in school activities, interactions with faculty and magnitude of problems) and positively with program diversity. Methodological worries about confounding variables (school SES and size) and the tempting slippage from correlational to causality notwithstanding, Pittman and Haughwout document the following correlations:

	Climate	Diversity	Size
Program diversity	-.41		
Size	-.57	.65	
Drop Out	-.41	.25	.31

Climate -- which may be conceptualized as psychological size -- bears the most profound affect on drop out rates, followed by numeric size and diversity of offerings. More specifically, level of student involvement in school was negatively correlated with dropout rates (-.30) while severity of school problems was positively associated with dropout rates (.33). Increased school size appears to affect dropout rates through an adverse impact on climate.

Adding a psychological perspective to these data on numerical and social size, Fred Neumann writes that a sense of alienation, which pervades comprehensive high schools for students and teachers, is deeply damaging. Psychologically and academically, students' engagement is necessary for learning because work must be socially and psychologically valued if it is to be pursued actively. For Neumann, the critical components of a non-alienating academic institution are smallness, active levels of participation by faculty and students, and a deep and pervasive sense of trust and relational, all of which appear to be associated with diminished violence (Gottfredson, see below), and diminished dropout rates (Wehlage, et. al.).

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Offering confirmatory evidence to Neumann's thesis, Eileen Foley and Peggy Crull of the Public Education Association (1984) studied 300 students who attended alternative schools throughout New York City. In search of the common features of effective alternatives, they found that compared to behavior in their previous schools, students in alternative schools were 40% less likely to be absent, and earned 60% more credits, although often not enough to graduate. Highlighting those factors associated with dropping out, Foley and Crull found that reading and math scores were *not* associated with dropping out among these students (see also Fine, 1984 for comparable evidence), but that dropouts were older, worse attenders, and more often truant. "The most salient difference between persisters and dropouts" according to this analysis, was in their description of the *quality of social relationships* absent in comprehensive high schools, and present in their alternative schools. Creating a psychologically small and accessible space, successful alternative schools enjoy a well defined student population in which students are actively involved in recruitment, interviewing, administration and evaluation. Teachers perform a variety of rules, are empowered to develop curriculum, shape policy and serve as counselors as well as traditional educators to students. The sense of smallness and intimacy pervaded these institutions.

Confirming the Foley and Crull evidence, Raywid (1987) writes on "Alternative Routes in Excellence" in which she describes alternative schools as places in which students can find schools of their own choosing that serve as "intimate places to be". Home-school interaction is often intensified. Parental involvement is higher, despite the typical lack of geographic proximity. Carrots are preferred over sticks. And freedom of choice, with an eye toward equity activates school differentiation, decentralization of school site decision-making and the diffusion of power to and through individual schools. Common to alternative schools, Raywid writes, lies a deep concern with "broadening the spectrum of human development" (5,28), by taking responsibility for the intellectual and personal development of children and youth.

Gary Wehlage and colleagues (1989), in a comprehensive review of "what works" for academically marginal students, resonates to much of what Raywid argues. They begin their analysis with a review of the Coleman and Hoffer evidence that some school organizations can and do make a difference, even for students typically "written off". That is, low income students, with complex family structures, who carry academic and/or disciplinary biographies of failure. Wehlage and his colleagues Rutter, Smith, Lesko and Fernandez, sought to decipher why alternative schools seem to "work" for marginal students. In a year long study of fourteen schools for "at risk youth", the authors found that:

> ...social relations in these fourteen schools are different..due primarily to the concern by adults to help students who have failed and become alienated...

With both **academic engagement** and **school membership** as their lead notions, Wehlage et. al. argue that schools need to facilitate

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reciprocal social bonds between students and adults, to be concerned with both academic and personal problems (see also Farrar and Hampel, 1989), to provide help for students to meet institutional goals and sense of competence, and to support students as they reconcile pressures of today with those of the future. Like the students, educators in these settings experience a form of psychological smallness in what Wehlage et. al. describe as "school ownership", including self governance, democratic decision making, a sense of collective vision, and collegiality. In so far as the researchers believe that reciprocity -- one form of psychological smallness -- should define the teacher-student relationship, they feel that teachers need not only feel that they "own" the context, but also to feel accountable for student successes, willing to extend their roles to provide counseling and other support, and that they need to enjoy substantial amounts of autonomy, flexibility and control in their schools. With these conditions in place, in these fourteen settings, Wehlage et. al. found that students' self-esteem increased over time (in ten of thirteen settings), perceptions of opportunities and aspirations were also enhanced (in seven of thirteen), attitudes improved (in ten of twelve) and academic achievement, as measured by the Degrees of Reading Power scores, progressed (in nine of fourteen schools).

While pressing for the braiding of educational engagement and social membership, Welhage et. al. recognize a number of potential problems, not the least of which seemed to have occurred in some studied settings -- that is, membership without engagement as well as the persistence of personal/social problems such as alcohol or drug use (as many as 25% of students in programs were in active rehabilitation). And so they recommend, systematically:

1. Strong permanent alternative schools as part of any comprehensive school system; such that these schools are seen as "high status"
2. Alternatives should have a clear mission *vis a vis* their sense of community, curriculum, and instruction and student development.
3. States and local districts need to develop Management Information Systems tracking student progress (or lack of same)
4. Schools need to examine the effects of course failure, grade retention, out of school suspensions on students, particularly those "at risk"
5. Site-based management should be instituted across any system
6. For marginal or "at risk" students, new curriculum and teaching strategies need to be developed
7. Schools need to be held accountable for dropout rates
8. Broad based community partnerships can assist in creating educational communities for "at risk" youth.

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Wehlage et. al. recommend these eight (and other) points which work as threads woven together as a fabric. That is, #7 school-based accountability can not be implemented unless there is also a commitment to #5 site-based management and/or some other form of assistance. Many districts today hold schools accountable for student outcomes while not letting schools control how it is those students will be treated, taught, interacted with, disciplined, etc. This approach reflects the now popular calls for standards without any strategies for school-based restructuring.

Reiterating Wehlage et.al. and citing the work of Arnove and Strout, Charles Payne argues that while schools need to be psychologically comforting, they also need to make students feel competent today, and for tomorrow.

> Unless school program was perceived as making it possible for youngsters to attain higher status roles in the future...

Warmth and nurturing were valued, but not enough to make an institution effective. Students, Payne writes, need to feel not only cared for, but to experience a sense of efficacy. Like Payne, Rutter and Lightfoot, psychologist Albert Bandura (1989) stresses personal efficacy as absolutely critical to academic or any other form of achievement. In a thorough analysis of the sociological and psychological literatures on a sense of efficacy, Bandura writes that the perception of self-efficacy consistently correlates with high performance. His review is sufficiently persuasive to

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conclude that a strong belief in one's own efficacy triggers increased consideration of options, which typically provokes greater investment in personal preparation and ultimately in personal levels of achievement. Contexts which encourage, and allow practice in self-efficacy, include schools which focus systemically on participation, active learning, nurturance and developing students as critics and creators of their democratic worlds. A sense of efficacy is near impossible to attain in a large, anonymous and standardized institution called school.

The final piece of evidence on school size -- numeric and psychological -- to be reviewed here comes from a Report commissioned by then Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins, People Change Schools (1987). The collective authors, members of a committee chaired by District Superintendent Anthony Alvarado, found that public high schools, particularly large schools, in New York City suffer deeply from the effects of tracking, retentions, and suspensions.[5]

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[5] Their review of New York City's data suggests a steep decline in dropout rates from 41.9% in 1983-84 to 30.7% in 1985-86. But these authors caution that the real dramatic shift has been in the way that drop out figures are calculated, rather than in an increase of students staying in high school. In 1984-85, there was a policy change such that students pursuing a G.E.D. were no longer counted as dropouts. And from 1983-86, the numbers of students pursuing a G.E.D. swelled by a figure of 300%. During this same period, the number of students on the rolls (as Long Term Absentees), who were not calculated as dropouts, increased by 13.7%. And third, the number of students classified as special education students, and therefore excluded from the aggregated dropout statistics, also increased during this time of supposed decrease in the drop out rate. Simply put, graduation rates did not increase either.

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In their analysis of high schools, the Report documents high student-teacher ratios, rigid schedules, large class sizes and quite large total student environments, averaging about 2,600 students on roll. To calculate the relationship of school size to these variables, the commission conducted a study of Manhattan High Schools, correlating the total student registration to rates of attendance, graduation, violence, long term absenteeism and suspensions, in two separate analyses -- one including alternative schools (which are quite small) and the other excluding alternative schools.

With the alternative schools included, they report that as registration increased, Long Term Absenteeism increased (r = .7), crimes and violence increased (.29) and dropout rates increased (.02). With the alternative schools removed from the analysis, they report that as registration increased, percent of Long Term Absenteeism increased (.64), as did suspensions (.30), absenteeism (.34) and drop out rates (.39). Further, as schools became more selective, total registration decreased, percent reading above national norms increased, and drop out percentiles shrunk dramatically. (Table 7)

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Table 7

New York City High Schools Stratified by Selectivity
Total Register, Reading and Dropout Rates

	Total Registered (X)	% reading above national norms	Dropout Rates
Group I most selective	1933	90.1%	1.8
Group II (moderate)	2478	64.2%	7.9
Group III (least)	2644	31.9	8.9
Group IV (alternative)	568	26.3	

School size is clearly critical - particularly for academically marginal adolescents.

Class Size

The evidence on class size is rather more ambiguous than school size, at least for high schools. The data are probably best read as non-linear but dichotomous, with fifteen to twenty being a substantially more productive class size level (particularly when dealing with low achieving, marginal students) than thirty-five. In simple review, class size appears to have more impact on marginal and/or low income students than on the general population. Correlations are difficult to interpret, however, because classes of thirty-one or thirty-three are often contrasted with classes of thirty-five.

Robinson and Wittebols (1986) have compiled, for the Educational Research Service (ERS), a comprehensive and systematic review of the literature on class size research. Reporting first the 1978 ERS summary, they write:

> Existing research findings do not support the contention that small classes will of themselves result in greater academic achievement of pupils.. (18) There is evidence

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> that pupils with lower academic ability tend to benefit more from small classes than do pupils with average ability.. Some research indicates that smaller classes can possibly affect the scholastic achievement of economic or socially disadvantaged pupils. (19)

The next year, in 1979, Glass and Smith conducted a comprehensive meta-analysis and found, in contrast, a clear and strong relationship of class size to achievement, with slightly stronger evidence of secondary school level impact, and equal impact across IQ and demographic categories. They conclude their meta-analysis by stating:

> A clear and strong relationship between class size and achievement has emerged. The relationship seems slightly stronger at the secondary grades than the elementary grades; but it does not differ appreciably across different school subjects, levels of pupil IQ, or several other obvious demographic features of classrooms. The relationship is seen most clearly in well-controlled studies in which pupils were randomly assigned to classes of different sizes. Taking all findings of this meta-analysis into account, it is safe to say that between class sizes of forty pupils and one pupil lie more than 30 percentile ranks of achievement. The difference in achievement results from instruction in groups of twenty pupils and groups of ten can be larger than ten percentile ranks in the central regions of the distribution. There is little doubt that, other things equal, more is learned in smaller classes.. (1979, 15)

According to Robinson and Wittebols, by the early 1980s, the question was no longer "What effect do smaller classes have on achievement?" but rather, "What specific conditions must be present in small classes to facilitate greater achievement?" While smaller classes appeared empirically to facilitate academic achievement, the relationships generated between teacher and students, the

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curriculum and instructional patterns influenced the nature of this relationship.

Reviewing the 1950-1985 evidence on class size and student achievement for grades nine through twelve, Robinson and Wittebols included twenty-two studies in their review and reported that:

> Research to date fails to indicate that in senior grades nine through twelve small classes have positive effects (50).

Eighteen percent of these high school studies favored small classes (with "small" ranging from five to forty, "large" ranging from 26 to 192 and nearly half of these studies relying upon class sizes of 45 or more for the 1961-1970 analysis). In contrast, 50% of the K through third grade studies, and 38% of the fourth through eighth grade studies report positive consequences for "small classes". As these researchers note, the enormous range of what has constituted "small" and "large" class sizes, particularly at the senior high level, makes meta-analysis difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, a closer look at some of the evidence is revealing.

Walberg and Rasher (1974) studied pupil-teacher ratios as they affect young men's passing (or failing) the Selective Service exam, and found that one more pupil per teacher was associated with a 10% increase in men's failing the exam. Three educational inputs appeared to be significant predictors, according to Walberg and Rasher, of such failure: higher pupil/teacher ratio, lower per pupil expenditure and lower ratio of age-eligible children enrolled in the pupil schools.

Once class size is correlated with achievement for different ability levels, the impact of small class size on marginal students becomes more obvious. Robinson and Wittebols report six such studies of grades nine through twelve and concluded that:

> [S]mall classes can be beneficial to lower achieving students... (101)

at least in English and writing areas.

Wahlberg's more recent quantitative analysis of numerous merged data bases combines the raw data from NAEP, HS&B, and the International Studies of Educational Achievement reports. From this fused data base, Wahlberg concludes that nine factors must be optimized to increase "affective behavior" and "cognitive learning" outcomes including student aptitude (ability or prior achievement, development and motivation); instruction (time on tasks and quality of instruction); and environment (home, classroom, peers and use of out of school time). But unlike his earlier analysis, and that of the ERS researchers, Wahlberg concludes by reporting that:

> [R]educed class size, for example, has small positive effects but is expensive and draws money away... (142)

The OERI, in a recent document entitled Class Size and Public Policy (1988) shares this view and explains that unless classes are less than twenty (or fifteen), there is little impact on student achievement.

It is important to note that the empirical evidence across studies appears to suggest that class size may be a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for improved academic achievement of an academically marginal students. In general population analyses, for senior high students, the impact appears to be masked. In disaggregated analyses, however, the impact seems to emerge with some consistency. For the purposes of policy, the disaggregated analyses are most pertinent. In schools in which students import biographies of academic failure and read/compute at levels ranging from second to twelfth, classes of thirty-five reinforce what John Goodlad and others have written about -- that lecturing, and passive downtime for students will constitute upwards of 85% of most secondary classroom instructional practices. While this is typically seen as a characteristic of poor teaching, one could easily argue that such teaching is a structurally created characteristic of large schools and oversized classes (McNeil, 1989).

In a recent essay in Educational Leadership, Glen Robinson, President and Director of Research for Educational Research Service, writes:

> The research rather consistently finds that students who are educationally disadvantaged or from the same ethnic minorities perform better academically in smaller classes. (p.85)

The Evidence on Institutional Transitions

While empirically underexamined, there is some evidence on the impact of school and grade level transitions which suggests that: (1) there may be better and worse developmental moments for shifting from one educational institution to another; (2) the experience of transition may in and of itself be traumatizing and represent an educational moment in need of monitoring and additional supports; and (3) the nature of these transitions is typically and ironically runs counter to developmental needs.

The Timing of Transitions

Whether one looks at evidence of retention in grade, suspension, school-wide victimizations or academic achievement, the data seem to suggest that seventh grade emerges as a problematic year, especially when it corresponds to the first year out of elementary school. Wesley Pugh, in an analysis of Philadelphia's grade reorganization (1988), compared junior high school (7th through 9th) seventh and eighth graders, with middle school (5/6th through 8th) seventh and eighth graders, and found that those in junior high had substantially more suspensions (35% versus 23%), were retained at approximately twice the level of peers in middle school (15% versus 8%) and, on achievement tests adjusted for SES scored a mean of 12.9 points lower on city-wide examinations. Students enrolled in middle school house plans, in which students were attached relationally and longitudinally to each other and to faculty, had overall higher promotion rates, higher average daily attendance rates and lower suspension rates. The Pugh analysis resonates with others conducted nationally.

In a five year longitudinal study of white, Milwaukee-based adolescents from sixth through tenth grades (1974-1979), Blyth et. al, surveyed 594 students who remained within a set of eighteen schools over the five year period, interviewing them in grades six,

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seven, ninth and tenth. Documenting global self esteem, G.P.A., achievement tests, and behavior (e.g. participation in extra-curricular activities), they found that young men consistently increased in self esteem with age and grade, even when entering junior high school. Young women, in contrast, increased in self esteem within the kindergarten through eight system with every grade. But in junior high school, in seventh and then again in tenth grade, young women scored significantly lower in self esteem than their kindergarten through eight counterparts. They scored lower in seventh than in sixth, and when they transitioned from junior high to high school, they experienced another dip. The time of the sixth to the seventh transition seems to be crucial and relatively damaging (and enduring) for young women's self esteem given the absence of intimacy at a time when adolescents are so hungry for it (Simmons and Blythe, 1987).

Turning to academic achievement, these researchers found that achievement levels generally decrease as grades increase. Young men entering junior high have lower G.P.A.s than seventh graders in K-8. Young women entering junior high have lower G.P.A.s than K-8, repeating this dip again into tenth grade. Simply stated, a change in school environment almost assures a drop in G.P.A. -- for young men in the seventh grade, and for young women at seventh, but even more powerfully at tenth grade.

Turning finally to extra-curricular participation, we see the same trends. Students in the K-8 arrangement continued their levels of participation, while those in junior high diminished

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their participation rates dramatically. And the young women never caught up. The experience of junior high school seems to promote decrements in participation with long term consequence, particularly if the transition occurs in early adolescence. By contrast, greater participation practiced in early adolescents seems sufficient to continue higher levels of participation throughout middle and late adolescence.

Blyth, et. al., admitting a methodological caveat in the absence of eighth grade data, theorized that "perceived anonymity" is the key to the transitional traumas they witness:

> [A] transition which is made too early can have relatively long lasting effects while transitions made at a later developmental stage may be without serious negative consequence (119).

Like Pugh, Blyth et. al., and others, Braddock, Wu and McPartland (1988) sought to understand the impact of middle school organizations on adolescents. Their work was premised on a McPartland, Colderson and Braddock (1987) finding that:

> [S]chools with more desirable teacher-student ratio are more likely to be smaller and to organize their staffing by self-contained classes or by functioning interdisciplinary teams.. rather than by department alone. (3)

Analyzing seventh graders in the N.A.E.P. data base, stratified by those in a 6-8 configuration, those in a 7-9 configuration and those in a K-8 configuration, these researchers found that by seventh grade, departmentalization was the most popular organizational pattern and was most problematic vis a vis student achievement. Adolescents interacting with two to three teachers

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appears to be the most academically productive organizational arrangement. In such "semi-departmentalized" schools students work closely with a small set of adults but still have access to "specialized knowledge" delivered by educators. Both a sense of community and specialized knowledge are available.

Henry Becker (1987), in a similar study, analyzed the Pennsylvania Educational Quality Assessment data for 8,000 sixth graders in elementary and middle schools, and learned that elementary school structures tend to disproportionately benefit students from low SES groups. In such settings, students were instructed and positively affected by, a limited number of teachers. Becker found that students from the lowest background groups scored higher when they had on-going contact with one teacher, than when they worked with a series of educators. On all five achievement tests, "low" achieving background students in elementary schools scored higher than those in middle schools. We see here a reiteration of the theme that marginal students blossom within continuous and embedded educational communities.

The Nature of the Transition

In a very rich review of the literature on *Stage-Environment Fit: Developmentally Appropriate Classrooms for Young Adolescents,* Eccles and Midgley (1989) argue that cross-school transitions, in and of themselves, may be developmentally problematic for young adolescents. Even more important, however, and little understood, they write that *the nature* of those transitions is particularly important to understand as to how they might threaten or potentially enhance adolescent development.

Eccles and Midgley find that the structures and practices that characterize middle and junior high schools are particularly ill-suited to the developmental needs of early adolescents. Typically they find these schools are larger than elementary schools; organized around departments and ability groups; reliant upon competitive motivation, teacher control, whole class instruction, and public evaluations; characterized by little evidence of teachers trusting students or giving students opportunities for autonomy; teachers' sense of efficacy in these institutions is substantially lower than in elementary schools, and students have markedly less contact with teachers than in the elementary experiences. With substantial evidentiary support from their own study of Transitions at Early Adolescence and others' work, Eccles and Midgley contend that these structures and practices are generally, but also particularly, problematic at early adolescence. First, sharp focus on competition, social comparison and heightened self-assessment clashes with the developmental experience of student self-consciousness that lingers around early adolescents. Second, the reduction in opportunities for decision making and choice for students occurs at precisely the developmental moment when their desire and need for a sense of efficacy and control is up. Third, the documented emphasis on lower level cognitive strategies occurs precisely when adolescents appear ready for higher level thinking. And finally, the disruptions of their ongoing, social networks is particularly troubling when early adolescents report being very concerned with peers and adult relations.

In 1984, Eccles reported a gradual decline in students' general attitudes toward school, and academic subjects with advancing age and grade levels. In 1987, she found this decline to be even more extensive for those students who were entering traditional junior highs than those entering either non-traditional junior highs, middle schools, or those remaining in K-8 configurations. While Eccles has found transitions *per se* to be disruptive, she nuances that finding by noting that:

> transition effects are mediated by changes in the school and classroom environment. (160)

Indeed, she now believes that a transition to a:

> developmentally appropriate learning environment, even at this vulnerable age, could have a facilitative effect on young adolescents' beliefs and behaviors.

In their most recent work, from the Transitions at Early Adolescent Study of two years, four wave, longitudinal, quasi-experimental design of twelve districts in South Eastern Michigan, Eccles and colleagues are now prepared to say:

> initial studies provide evidence of a *causal* relation between changes in children's belief of systems and changes in instructional practices during the transition from elementary to junior high school (178) (emphasis added)

While Eccles, et. al., keep researchers honest about *transitions* as a complex variable, the work of Norman Newberg allows us to see what happens when a developmentally appropriate transitional experience is set in place.

Transitions that Facilitate Education

Norman Newberg (1989), writing on his urban intervention Bridging the Gap, introduces his essay by writing:

> Educators talk about articulation between school units as students pass from a lower school to a higher one. Seldom, however, is this transition accomplished in a manner that addresses the complex needs of students who must adjust to the transition. Too often in this transition, the social, emotional, and academic needs of students moving from fifth to sixth, and from eighth to ninth grade are handled in bureaucratic ways. Records are passed; a counselor or roster specialist from the receiving school advises the sending school on how to select programs or courses sometimes a brief orientation is held at the receiving school. While each of these activities offers some help, they are insufficient. For students, the transition is abrupt and awkward, and many will never make it across.

While Newberg elaborates a sophisticated theory and practice for re-working school to school transitions, he provides data on one piece of his experimental intervention which indicates how crucial and effective it is to set in motion a sense of belonging for low income students arriving at senior high school. He writes:

> The decision to restructure into two house plans proved to be a highly demanding venture for the faculty and administration. The primary focus for these houses was to break down the anonymity and bureaucratic nature of the Freshman Academy. Two houses were established in September 1988, each with approximately 135 students and a team of teachers who work exclusively with them. Each house has a team leader, a peer, who calls weekly house meetings to discuss individual students, house projects, and develop future directions. After a year's work, teachers feel these houses produced a superior learning environment for students as the comments below reflect.

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> "A lot of kids are trying to get their work done. They ask to do make-ups... in the past, they didn't care." We can't get the kids to leave. They come early. They don't leave. I ask them, I say, 'Won't you leave?' This is a new problem; we've never had this problem before".
>
> Of course the redesign of the Freshman Academy into two houses has not alleviated all problems. Some students still fail; their skill levels cannot be brought up to standard. As one teacher put it, "In reading, some are on the sixth grade level so by this time they give up. I'm trying as hard as I can, then they put their heads down. Others are willing to do the work, but it isn't enough." On balance, however, the positives outweigh the negatives. And the gains in student attendance and achievement are impressive. In the 1986-87 academic year with an enrollment of 265 students, the average monthly attendance was 77.5%. In 1987-88 with 418 enrolled, 76.1% was the average monthly attendance. But in 1988-89 with 269 students enrolled, the attendance was 84.4% -- a 9% gain over the previous year. Teachers rightly correlate the potential to achieve with regular attendance. Spotty attendance produces gaps in knowledge which make it increasingly difficult for the student to catch up. In the Freshman Academy case the rise in attendance did correlate with an increase in the number of students promoted the tenth grade.
>
> Before the start of Bridging the Gap, from 1983 to 1987, an average of 50% of the students were promoted. In contrast, 64% in 1988 and 82% in 1989 were promoted respectively. The 14% gain in 1988 may be attributed to several teacher recommended and implemented changes including: student recognition programs for achievement and/or attendance, initiation of a student government, a course in career guidance, emphasis on study skills, and intensive tutoring for students at risk of failure by the third report care. The major reason for the 18% increase (from 64% to 82%) in 1989 may be attributed to the reorganization of the school into two houses.

Clearly supportive transitional structures can facilitate learning and persistence - if educators and students are committed to "bridging the gap".

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The Interior Processes of Secondary Schools: What's Going on Inside?

In order to understand how schools do and do not maximize their potential as educational communities, how they press toward academic environments, engage students and educators as critical decision makers, and take seriously the complex "personal" lives of low income youth, this section of the paper will address institutional practices of schools as they affect students' academic and non-academic outcomes.

Institutionalized Tracking

Framing a thorough analysis of secondary school tracking practices in four major urban areas, *The New Improved Sorting Machine* (Designs for Change, 1980) was published as a comprehensive review of documents, interviews, observations, and conversations held across two years with advocates, policy makers and practitioners from these four cities. Don Moore and Suzanne Davenport, the authors of the report, sought to understand the ways in which institutional arrangements across and within urban secondary schools lay the foundation for different kinds of urban students receiving substantially different, and dramatically unequal, educational outcomes. A brief review of their text proves to be illuminating, and provocative.

Moore and Davenport articulate three primary layers through which institutionalized tracking shapes secondary urban schooling

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in Boston, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. **Admissions to High Schools**, the first layer, involves the proliferation of "options" throughout urban areas, through which selective schools disproportionately educate middle and high income students, white students, non-disabled students, English proficient students, those with both exemplary academic histories, and parents sufficiently skilled at negotiation to secure spots in these much-demanded institutions. In the name of "choice", for instance, New York city opened a series of options schools, and in Spring 1984, New York's eighth graders made 380,000 "choices" (it is unclear how many "choices" students were given). But only 32,000 were granted access to their choices. So with the pretense of choice and options, the system apparently produced many more "losers" than "winners". And these "losers" were, according to Moore and Davenport, disproportionately low income, Black and Latino, students with attendance problems, disabilities, limited in their English proficiencies, with low achievement scores and high likelihood of a prior experience of retention. Moore and Davenport raise questions about admission procedures to these options schools which collectively give the impression that "students whose families are good advocates or negotiators" end up enjoying "choice", while families who are poor, not high school graduates, or non English speaking seem to enjoy little such choice.

In an extensive "options" system, students come to be reliant on guidance counselors -- by whom marginal students tend to be underserved -- and standardized testing -- by which marginal

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students are quite poorly served. Option schools, they report, recruit selectively, attract the "best" students, and dramatically and adversely affect neighborhood high schools. By skimming off the most motivated students, parents and teachers, by "returning" or "de-selecting" students to their neighborhood schools if they "don't work out" and by receiving a disproportionate share of district resources (such that neighborhood high schools lose disproportionately in terms of staff, materials, capital expenses, etc.), options schools gain more control over their institutional policies and practices, and neighborhood high schools, by comparison, "look bad" and feel demoralized.

William Julius Wilson, in his book The Truly Disadvantaged, reports an analysis of the quite differential outcomes which result from such district-wide stratifications of public high schools. Interested particularly in what happens to students in schools in which there is heavy "concentration of the underclass", Wilson reports that of 39,500 ninth graders who began Chicago's secondary schools in 1980, only 18,500 (47%) graduated by 1984, and only six thousand of them were capable of reading at or above the twelfth grade level. Even more sobering, from Wilson's point of view, in those segregated (by race and class) inner city high schools which two thirds of the class of 1984 (25,500) attended, a full 16,000 did not graduate and "of the 9,500 students who did graduate, 4,000 read at or below the junior level and only 2,000 read at or above the national average". (51)

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Moore and Davenport link their analysis of tracking across urban high schools to analysis of **tracking within urban high schools.** Documenting the extensive tracking of students across all four districts, they note that with the exception of New York City, no other district reported providing any educational intervention explicitly for students in the lowest tacks, except for "remedial" and "drill" activities, both known for their inability to interrupt low track achievement (see Levin). Across the four cities, they report "fragmented responses to the drop out problem", "common ability groupings" which appear to serve administrative and rostering needs more than individual learners' needs, and low ability classes which tend to be comprised disproportionately of low income, Black and Latino students with histories of failure in academic achievement. The authors note with irony that teachers working with the most "at risk" youths are given few of the resources, little of the flexibility and none of the public relations granted to educators working within "option schools" in which resources are enriched, flexibility is enhanced, public relations are terrific, and students are extremely motivated.

Finally, Moore and Davenport report on the **promotion/retention policies** of these four cities, noting that each city has established a more rigid policy within the past decade, despite advocates' and educators' warnings that rigid promotion policies produce swelled dropout rates, with little assurance of other educational improvements. Nevertheless, the four cities persisted, in conformance with the national press for "standards". Only in

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New York were resources explicitly tied to interventions following retention. But even there, recent evidence demonstrates that retention as an intervention is inefficient for enhancing reading achievement, but quite efficient for heightened dropout rates.

We move now from a deep, four city analysis of tracking across and within schools, to the empirical documentation of the relationships between school organizations and student outcomes relying primarily on reviews of national data. Maureen Hallinan, in an edited collection entitled The Social Organization of Schools (1987), offers an empirical analysis of the contemporary tracking practices as they operate within secondary schools.

Hallinan and Sorensen (in Hallinan 1987) followed groups of fourth through seventh graders and found that teachers tended to form systematically three "ability" groups, of equal size, which tended to remain stable over time. Not only were cross race and cross achievement level friendships unlikely to emerge across groups, but these groupings, the authors argue, were organized as if equal distributions of ability were the norm, could be captured by standardized tests, and could efficiently be attended to within these groupings. There was little recognition that these new groupings helped to construct the categories they ostensibly sought to educate away. Ability groupings affected teacher's expectations dramatically. With low track students falling behind equal ability students in higher tracks, and high ability students achieving more than peers of equal ability who were not in high groups.

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One of the more persuasive chapters in this collection was authored by A. Sorensen, entitled "The Organizational Differentiation of Students in Schools as an Opportunity Structure". Sorenson provides an analysis of the High School and Beyond data set for 1980 sophomores classified as "academic" track versus "non-academic track". (It is important to note that in many high schools, these tracks are non-exclusive.) Sorensen argues that instructional groups function operationally as closed-position systems because of the limited groupings (in sets of 33), and limited data upon which groupings can be determined. Across high school years, Sorensen writes, there is a trend toward downward mobility, such that more and more students are denied promotion chances as they "progress" through the system. The closed nature of this tracking system promotes educational trajectories which render early assignments crucial to later success.

To demonstrate the superficial basis for, and yet critical impact of early assignment, Sorenson reports on a study by Jackson, conducted in 1964, in which month of birth was found to correlate significantly with British students' performance on the eleven plus exam. Jackson explains this phenomenon as due to the fact that birth date proved to be very important for assignment to ability groups in the first grade. Students who were relatively older (by six months, for instance) when entering first grade had, of course, a greater chance of getting into high skill groups. And their early tracking provided cumulatively greater opportunities for learning. The trajectory continues, only polarized over time.

If tracking exacerbates background differences, are there organizational strategies that minimize these differences? Valerie Lee and Tony Bryk respond to this question in a 1989 article, "A Multilevel Model of the Social Distribution of High School Achievements." Lee and Bryk take seriously the Coleman, Hoffer and Kilgore finding that in Catholic schools, the statistical relationship of social background and academic achievement is substantially weaker than in public schools (for an alternative view, see Alexander and Pallas who argue that there is little evidence that cognitive development in Catholic school significantly outpaces public schools between sophomore and senior year). Most research on tracking, they report, concludes that "students who found themselves in the general or vocational program are destined for second class citizenship in terms of academic achievement, post-secondary education and eventual employment prospects" (p. 78, 1988). They found that 72% of students in Catholic schools fell in the college preparatory stream, compared to 38% of the students in public schools. And, that 46% of the Catholic students claimed that they were "assigned" to an academic track, compared with 23% of public school students. Over time, some of both Catholic school students and public school students lose interest in pursuing college, but public school students dropoff far more dramatically (Catholic eighth graders 71% college plans versus 64% of tenth graders; public school eighth graders, 53% report college plans versus 38% of tenth graders). The authors estimate that students who transferred from Catholic to public schools would have been 19.6% more likely to have been enrolled in an academic track had they remained in Catholic school. Indeed, even general and vocational Catholic school students took more academic courses than the typical public school student.

Lee and Bryk delineated two characteristics of these Catholic schools that appear to contribute to what has been perceived as the homogenization of academic effects: track placement and number of academic courses taken. Relying again on High School and Beyond data set, with 10,187 sophomores and seniors from 160 schools, Lee and Bryk sought to extract those features of educational institutions which minimize the impact of student background on cognitive outcomes. They document first that students in Catholic schools (although they come from somewhat more elite social backgrounds and are less often members of minority racial/ethnic groups) do score higher in math. They enjoy smaller class sizes, have higher mean number of teacher interactions, report fewer disciplinary problems, and experience more academic encouragement. Public school students report substantially lower enrollment in academic curriculum, fewer math courses, and more curricular differentiation between the highest and lowest achieving students. What Lee and Bryk learned, also, is that school mean math achievement increases when there is more coursework in math, more homework and fewer school-wide problems. They write that:

> A distribution of achievement that maintains a high average level, as well as being socially equitable, is more likely to arise when the average level of academic course taking is high and the differentiation among students' programs are study are small.

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> How schools should respond to differences in students' background and interest is a central organizational problem. In principle, initial differences among students can be either amplified or constrained as a result of subsequent school experiences. (p.188)

Catholic schools have a constrained curricular assortment; public comprehensive high schools have a broad curricular display. In the Catholic sector, there exists only a weak relation of background characteristic to student academic achievement. In public schools, student background is a fairly strong predictor of remedial placement. In public schools, a diverse curriculum tends to increase pre-high school achievement differences and to heighten reliance on guidance counselors, to whom low income students have relatively minimal access.

Impact of Tracking on Access to Guidance Counselors

In an investigation which predated Lee and Bryk, Valerie Lee and Ruth Ekstrom (1987) examined institutional tracking's effects on students' access to guidance counseling. In this study, Lee and Ekstrom found that lower SES, minority students, and students attending school in rural areas had diminished access to guidance counseling, and such diminished access tended to be associated with nonacademic curricular enrollment. In yet another analysis of the High School and Beyond data set of 1980 sophomores and 1982 seniors -- not including dropouts -- these researchers sought to understand the relationship of track to counseling and the impact of that counseling on career/college options. A full 50.4% of students

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reported No Contact at all with their guidance counselors. Academically tracked students described placement in their track as 33% "assigned", 25% "chose alone" and 28% "chose with counselor", while general and vocational students described their placements as 43%/37% "assigned", 23%/25% made "choice alone" and 19%/21% made "choice with counselor". Counselors appeared to play a more vital role with those students whom one might argue need counseling the least. Or, counseling might really make a difference on influencing students' interest in academics. Either way, students who report access to a counselor are more likely to have been placed in an academic track. Lee and Ekstrom conclude that access to counseling, is both cause and consequence of track:

> acting as a social stratifier of our nation's public high schools. (p. 300)

Garet and DeLany have looked closely at course enrollment as a function of track placement. With data from four California high schools and an "N" of approximately 1,000 students, they tried to understand how students make curricular decisions, and with what impact, interested particularly in the relative contribution of ability and SES to track placement and course selection. Controlling for standardized test scores, Asian-American students took more advanced math, geography and algebra than other students; Blacks enrolled in these courses more than whites, and Hispanics did so least frequently. They learned that students attending a school that offered the widest selection of non-college credits had only 4% of its students enrolled in geometry, whereas schools with

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a substantially constrained curricular menu reported between 32% and 58% of students enrolled in geography.

Having reviewed four cities and national perspectives on tracking, we now take a deep look at tracking inside one city. Stephen Bing and Anne Wheelock of the Massachusetts Advocacy Center have collected Boston district data historically and analyzed longitudinally how the processes of tracking and related practices affect student outcomes cumulatively (Bing, 1987). They begin with the insight that the once romanticized educational mainstream has vanished. As early as elementary school, the cataloging of deficits and gifts begins, by no means coincidentally associated with race/ethnicity/class and gender. By middle school,

> most students arrive [...] having already experienced placement apart from their peers...

either through non-promotion or labeling. In the City of Boston, by tenth grade, 29% of all white students are attending an examination (elite, criteria for entrance) school compared with 40% of Asians, 13% of Blacks, and 9% of Hispanics. Blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately likely to be in special education at the seventh and tenth grades than white or Asian-American peers, and special education students are more likely to be non-promoted, suspended or to drop out.

By the middle grades, Bing and Wheelock found extensive reliance on ability groupings, with no difference across subject areas. This practice is in marked contrast to a survey of 154 middle schools selected for study because they are highly effective

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(Paul George, 1988). Of these schools 63% of the respondents report "virtually all of these schools organized so that each student was a member of a heterogenous grouped interdisciplinary team". A full 33% rejected tracking. Those which did track restricted which disciplines and for how long, tracking could persist.

Bing and Wheelock, sharing Moore and Davenport's perspective, conclude that examination [option] schools create a two tiered system of middle schools which exacerbate social differentiation, and from their point of view, even worse, teach students to accept as natural and just the existence of narrowly conceived social disparities as a legitimate basis for the distribution of social resources. They write, further, that such grouping is associated with quality of instruction. Echoing the words of John Goodlad in A Study of Schooling, they report that in high track classrooms there appear to be goals, curriculum, instructional practices, teachers' expectations, climate and quality of work by which high tracks prevail over low.

Probably the most persuasive and comprehensive analysis of within school tracking comes from Jeannie Oakes (1985) who has studied twenty-five secondary schools extensively, both quantitatively and qualitatively, with detailed observational schedules to understand the intentions, policies, practices and consequences of dividing students into "high", "moderate" and "low" ability groups.

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Oakes writes that tracking practices are premised on seven assumptions. First, that students' past achievements and potential can be measured by standardized tests. Second, that dividing students into groups can produce a coherent group of "similar learners". Third, that such groups will satisfy individual learners' needs. Fourth, that such groups render teaching an easier task. Fifth, that there are positive consequences to labeling and categorizing students.

Oakes unearthed in her research, a life in "low" track classes which differs markedly from life in "high" track classes. In "low" track classes, students spent less time on being instructed (1206 hours over six years versus 1400 hours for high track in English and Math); were exposed to fewer teaching behaviors that engaged them (as measured by observational indicators rated by multiple observers); worked with teachers who exhibited less enthusiasm; were themselves more passive and reinforced for being conforming; and were much more often involved in negotiating their ways through non-trusting relationships, in which struggles over punishment and control prevailed (see also McDermott).

In "high" track classes, in contrast, students seemed to be socialized toward independence and critical thinking, spent proportionately more time on instructional, had more enthusiastic teachers, were reinforced for being active, and voiced higher educational aspirations. In both slices of academic life, Oakes writes, students are being socialized to see as "natural" the legitimation of inequality, learning to accept and

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expect inequities as if they were merely "the ways things have to be." As an encouraging footnote, Oakes and colleagues found that in 70% of the heterogeneous classes, such as in English and Math, students were exposed to the highest level of curricular content. She argues heterogeneous and cooperative learning as the legal, moral and educational alternative to the educational practices of school tracking.

While Hallinan, Sorenson (in Hallinan), Whitman (1989), Oakes, Brophy and Goode, Pressman (1988) and others argue that tracking systematically obstructs and constrains equal educational opportunities for public school students -- in terms of curricular content, instructional excellence, access to counseling, teachers' expectations, peers' evaluations, and post secondary opportunities -- Pamela Keating and Jeannie Oakes, in a recent essay, "Access to Knowledge: Breaking Down School Barriers to Learning" add tracking to three other institutionalized practices which appear to threaten equal educational opportunities (1989).

They begin their analysis as follows:

> To be truly fair, schools must ensure equal educational opportunity all students, regardless of personal circumstances. Moreover, schools are required to compensate for individual disadvantage in equalizing access to schools and school programs (1988, 1)

Imploring educators to assess where they have control, and where they don't, Keating and Oakes detail these layers of institutionalized inequity but like Goodlad, Sizer, Comer, Lightfoot and others interested in institutional change, understand that systemic transformation must work with whole institutions, and not just segments of them.

Testing, according to Keating and Oakes, as currently conceptualized and implemented, tends to be standardized, burdensome and not educationally useful. Premised on the notion that IQ is a fixed state, testing is rarely implemented in a way that recognizes intelligence as multi-dimensioned, or as a process of becoming (Gardner, 1986). Supportive of Keating and Oakes' critique of heavy reliance on standardized testing, and echoing Haney and Madaus' (1986) concerns, Noe Medina and Monty Neill (1988) challenge the excessive use of standardized testing, disproportionately so for low income children and adolescents, and the increasing reliance on testing for a variety of educational and professional decisions, including promotion, graduation, certification of teachers' competence, etc. Students in large districts. They found, take 1¼ times the tests administered to students in medium (25,000-100,000) sized districts, who are tested at 1½ times the rate of students in small districts (less than 25,000).

As Linda Darling-Hammond (198) has demonstrated and argued for years, now, districts obsessed with standardized testing tend to water down their curriculum to conform to the tests. The logic of testing drives the curriculum so much so that when particular items are dropped from standardized tests, they too are dropped from the curriculum.

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In a clever, if sobering analysis, Walt Haney and George Madaus calculate the mean annual number of column inches in Educational Index (a major reference text for educational practitioners and researchers) over the past fifty years, devoted to *testing* versus *curriculum*. Whereas the index item *curriculum* accounted for fifty to one hundred inches in the 30's and the 40's, it now accounts for between one hundred and one fifty inches. The index item *testing,* however, accounted for ten to thirty inches in the 30's and 40's but accounts for over three hundred inches in the 1980's (1989). As professionals working in the field of testing, they express serious concern over the excessive use and the abuse of tests throughout the nation.[6]

Keating and Oakes write about another layer of institutionalized inequity which concerns the fragmented *processes of curriculum development and instruction* which characterize public schools. They, like Goodlad and others, document that in most classrooms, teacher-talk and lecturing dominates, fostering

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[6] Stephen Bing, author of *The Way Out* (1987) writes that grouping and tracking, in concert with standardized testing for promotion, has yet another insidious result -- the proliferation of substantially overage children/youths in public school classrooms. In Boston, the district of his analysis, the chances of non-promotion were found to increase with every middle and high school grade, except for ninth grade where 25% of all students repeated grade nine. Students who are truant, behavior problems and poor attenders, especially in middle school, tend to be students who are over age. The experience of being retained disproportionately affects African-Americans and Latino students, as well as whites who are low income. In Boston, 74.3% of all students retained were African-American and Latino, whereas these two groups constitute only 65.5% of total district enrollment (Bing, _).

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passivity in students, the impression of a *singular authority*, and requiring intellectual *compliance* rather than creativity in many instances. Because educators are often rewarded for such classrooms, and punished for creative pedagogy, they have few opportunities to experiment and to assess their experiments. The excessive fragmentation of the curriculum, reinforced by standardized testing for bits of disconnected information, renders their teaching as a service to policy makers, legislators, lobbyists and bureaucrats --but quite remote from the needs of learners and teachers.

Finally, Keating and Oakes note that *school management* has historically been, and is currently, rigid, hierarchical, inflexible, and top down. With little evident trust of teachers (or principals), districts rarely provide opportunities for teachers to lead innovation. Keating and Oakes call for teacher professionalism, activated through site based management and shared decision making. In particular, they advocate, as indicated above, that junior highs be transformed into middle schools such as groups of teachers work collectively and relatively autonomously with each other and with groups of students over time.

Promising Interventions Within Traditional Schools

Many sociologists of education have focussed on the damage correlated with/caused by rigid tracking policies and practices. Another group of scholars and educators has, however, begun to experiment empirically with alternatives to tracking. A subset is reviewed below.

Pre-School

While tangential to the focus of this paper, it is first worth pointing out that the evidence from the pre-school interventions literature is most compelling vis a vis preventing and interrupting the likelihood that schools will transmit, if not exacerbate, layers of social and economic disadvantage. Steven Barnett (1985) has documented longitudinally the impact of the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool on low income black children who were selected because their parents had low levels of education, low SES and were scored as having low IQs. In a longitudinal analysis, the Perry School students were found to be more successful, more committed to school, had higher achievement scores and grades, greater earnings, fewer special education referrals, greater educational attainment, more involvement with higher education, fewer pregnancies, and fewer reports of juvenile delinquency than there non-Perry School peers. The Ypsilanti evidence is compelling insofar as these students were selected for their early disadvantages, and that the advantages accrued in that early experiment were sustained over time.

While Ypsilanti and other pre-school intervention data are persuasive, they often have one adverse, if unintended, consequence. Policymakers and the public tend to become romantic when discussing young children, and grow more cynical about early adolescence, much less late adolescence, as developmentally "too

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late" to intervene. But powerful and consistent evidence suggests that this assumption is just wrong. Simultaneous and multiple points of intervention remain the preferred policy strategy, such that it is simply short sighted to assume that middle and high school age students are too old for effective intervention (Newberg, 1989). Below a variety of streams of intellectual work are considered, investigating structural and instructional strategies which serve as alternatives to standardized tracking and retention policies.

Summer Learning. Perhaps the most comprehensive data on summer learning come from the writings of sociologist Barbara Heyns. In two essays (1986, 1987) in which she reviews the evidence on summer intervention, Heyns concludes that while summer intervention does not increase learning, *per se,* summer tends to be a time of enormous educational regress, particularly for low income students. Summer interventions serve to slow, at times substantially, this process of loss, particularly for low income students.

In contrast to scholars who have documented the ways in which schools function through socio-economic stratification (Coleman 198; Jencks, 1985) or function to reproduce or exacerbate socio-economic stratification (Bowles, and Gintis), Heyns argues, through the Summer Loss data, that schools can and do reduce the huge disparities in the academic skills associated with the background characteristics of children and adolescents. Insofar as racial and social class gaps in basic skills tend to stretch over the summer,

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summer interventions minimize the extent of this stretch. Heyns concludes by writing:

> Schools promote learning relative to fixed periods of time without schools; schools also equalize outcomes - not absolutely but relative to the inequality produced when schools are closed. (1156)

The STEP project, a national experiment conducted by Public/Private Ventures for "at risk" early adolescents, provides data which seem to support Heyns' position. Reporting on their 1987 data, Sipe, Grossman and Milliner (Public/Private Ventures, 1987) have studied longitudinally fourteen and fifteen year olds who were selected into STEP because they had performed poorly in school and were eligible for Summer Youth Employment and Training Project. The Project consists of two summers of half time work, half time basic skills, and eighteen hours of life planning. It offers academic credit as well as follow-up, and was designed to: reduce summer learning losses, increase reading and math scores, increase graduation rates, and decrease the pregnancy and parenting rates.

In 1985, STEP was launched in five cities, using random assignment (Public/Private Ventures, 1987). At each of the five sites, three cohorts of approximately 1,320 youths participated, producing a full N of 4,800. While the contextualized details of the data are quite interesting, they will not be presented here, the aggregate findings are, however, quite encouraging with respect to the particular issue of summer learning loss. The researchers found that STEP offers effective short term intervention, increases

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reading and math scores some, and increases knowledge of contraception quite a bit. Over time, STEP stems summer academic loss, which the control students exhibited, but long term impact is somewhat more ambiguous. While the dropout rates seem to be smaller for the experimental group, the numbers do not reach significance. Fertility differences, while a bit early to detect, are also not yet apparent. What STEP enables us to see is what Barbara Heyns has been arguing for years - that the stemming of summer loss is a major challenge and opportunity, for educational intervention toward improved student outcomes. Indeed, in Toward a More Perfect Union, Gordon Berlin and Andrew Sum cite Heyns' analysis to justify their recommendation for Year Round Schooling. The question remains, of course, if everyone receives year round schooling, will educational disparities persist, unabated, rather than erode when compensatory summer programming is offered?

Cooperative Learning. Over the past decade, Robert Slavin and his colleagues at Johns Hopkins, as well as the Johnson brothers at Minnesota, have been experimenting with methods of teaching and learning cooperatively in elementary, middle and secondary school classrooms. This instructional strategy appears to satisfy many educational ends simultaneously. Cooperative learning enables students to work heterogeneously across ability levels, thus reducing the need for, and consequently the creation of between class and across class tracks. It encourages students to interact actively and democratically, as teachers and as learners with their peers. It facilitates empathy across and within racial/ethnic/

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ability groups. And it shifts the questions of absolute authority off of teachers, and onto the collectives of students and teachers in a room.

In a 1987 review of within and between class ability groups (i.e. tracking), Robert Slavin (1987) found little evidence of educational benefits, except, for small positive effects on high achieving students. Given the Hobson versus Hansen decision of 1967, which argued that ability groupings functionally and unconstitutionally resegregate Blacks and Hispanics from white students, and given the overwhelming evidence that cooperative learning strategies (with heterogeneous groups rewarded as a group) tend to enhance academic achievement, teaching instruction, and sense of "empathy" in elementary schools (Blaney, Aronson, et. al.), Newmann and Thompson (as well as others) have sought to document the relative effects of cooperative learning on achievement in secondary schools. In their meta analysis of twenty seven "high quality studies," involving thirty-seven comparisons of cooperative versus control learning strategies, these researchers conclude that 68% of the reports favor cooperation. Math and language arts seem to be the curricular areas most amenable to positive effects of cooperative learning (see also, Johnson et. al. 1981).

Peer tutoring, which in practice seems to operate as a variation on cooperative learning, is also currently gaining much attention. Both of these strategies emerge, in part, out of a concern for how educators can deal creatively with thirty-five

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students in a classroom, engage students in appreciating rather than depreciating peer differences, and promote active participatory learning among students. Peer tutoring, described by Diane Hedin (1986), has been found more cost effective than computer assisted instruction (Levin, 1989); to reap substantial academic improvements over conventional 1:30 classes (Hedin, 1986; Cohen, Kulik and Kulik, 1982); beneficial for tutors and tutees, and most effective if woven back into a structured academic program (Hedin, 1986). While there is general agreement that student-to-student tutoring offers a significant intervention for both participants, controversy ensues over optimal length of time and whether peers or cross age tutoring is more effective.

On the question of time, Cohen, Kulik and Kulik have found four weeks to be optimal; while Goodlad (1979) and Jenkins and Jenkins (1981) document that the longer the intervention the more visible the results. On the question of cross age versus peer tutoring, Cohen, Kulik and Kulik (1982) conducted a meta-analysis of sixty-five studies of elementary and secondary tutoring and found that forty-five of the fifty-two achievement studies demonstrated increased tutee performance, while a report of the attitudinal studies documented improved attitudes toward school. They found cross age tutoring to increase achievement scores significantly for tutees and slightly for tutors, and that tutors more experienced by approximately three years tended to be most effective. Tutors seem to score higher on examinations than non-tutors, particularly in math, although it is important to note that

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the controls on these studies are often unspecified. On affective outcomes, there seem to be small positive effects for tutees, and substantial, self-reported changes in maturity and competence for tutors (Hedin, 1986). The final slice of evidence on peer tutoring comes from educators and students themselves, as reported by the Peer Research Lab (1989; see also, Ianni, 1989). At the level of self reports, the evidence is overwhelmingly positive, with respect to satisfaction, increased self esteem and self confidence, heightened academic motivation, more confidence, less inhibition and more accepting of differences among students.

A final illustration of the power of peer tutoring comes from Charles Maher's evaluation of a project in such sixteen special education teens from two urban high schools, all labeled "emotionally disturbed" and scoring within the normal range of IQ, with below level skills, tutored one-on-one elementary school youths labeled mentally retarded twice a week for ten weeks. After six hours of training, the results are rather impressive. The elementary school students' mean test scores increased from 69 to 85, and the teens' test scores increased in even greater proportion from 60 to 85. Pre-tutoring experience, the teens did, on average, 66% of their assignments. But by the end of the tutoring experience, they were completing 90% of their assignments. A full thirteen of the original sixteen chose to continue the tutoring. As in other examples, math gains seem to be most amenable to tutoring interventions, and here again the author found that brief interventions produced greater gains than lengthy interventions.

While the peer tutoring literature tends, generally, to be under-rigorous in methodological design, a variety of positive potential consequences are beginning to emerge within academic, psychological and social arenas for tutors and tutees. This last example backs into a growing movement for community service among early and late adolescents, and while the evidence here is, again, underwhelming at the level of methodological rigor, it is overwhelming at the level of student and educators' enthusiasm for community service as a way to engage students actively in their own learning, in the often under-explored boundaries separating school and community life, and in the creative and critical construction of Adolescent Self as responsible, connected and giving (Schine, 1989).

With his intellectual heritage embodied in the movements for both cooperative learning and peer tutoring, social psychologist Morton Deutsch has authored an essay, Educating Beyond Hate (1989) in which he articulates how it is that schools can learn to deal with conflict constructively, engaging students as critical and active negotiators of social tensions. He lists cooperative learning, conflict resolution, the constructive use of controversy in pedagogy, and peer dispute resolution/mediation, as four examples of ways in which schools can educate toward activity, participation, democracy and critical engagement. While he acknowledges that none but cooperative learning has a strong record of empirical support, his theoretical arguments invite precisely these kinds of research projects, investigating cooperative and

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community work as moments in which Bandura's self-efficacy, and Deutsch's collective efficacy, may be practiced and enhanced as part of an educational project.

Rethinking The Power of Educators in Shaping Public Contexts of Teaching and Learning

In the late 1980s, there was much talk of "teacher empowerment." Typically this discursive catch-all meant that teachers should be more deeply involved in shaping the policies, practices and contexts in which they do their work. While this perspective blended neatly with labors' desire for collective decision making, the question to be pursued here concerns the relationship between teachers' involvement in policy and decision-making and students' outcomes. **As preface to this section, the cumulative evidence suggests that teachers who are engaged in critiquing, shaping and transforming the contexts of their work are in substantially better positions to teach effectively, carefully, and responsively, and to model critical, creative, participatory democracy for students.** If one task of public education is to incite students to be critical, active, engaged and participatory citizens, then they need to be taught by critical, active, engaged and participatory educators. Thus, on two counts -- improved labor conditions and educational outcomes -- we review the literature on teachers and their work environments.

Carnoy and MacDonnell (1989; see also Cuban, 1989) compare what they call the first and second wave of school reform. The

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first wave called for greater involvement by the State in public schooling. It demanded the raising of "standards," and the monitoring of teachers by those who supervised them. Historically, these authors write, the socialization of educational objectives *away* from the local sites *to* the State comes about with increased bureaucratic rationality, an onerous press for predictive outcomes, greater *control* of teachers' time, and the systematic *deprofessionalization* of their work (by which curriculum, materials, tests, policies and practices are made "teacher-proof".)

More recently, however, the second wave sailed under the name of restructuring. Here we see an effort to increase teachers' satisfaction with *and* effectiveness in education by bringing them into school-based and District-wide decision making. The second wave of reform is situated *within* Districts and schools, focuses on the distribution of power and authority, as well as *processes* of educational delivery rather than abstract standards. This second wave recognizes that teachers' work must be developed by teachers and respected professionally if change is to ensue. In cities such as Miami, Florida, Hammond, Indiana and Rochester, New York, where school-based management/shared decision making are being "invented" collaboratively, we see some enormous changes in lives, minds, work and sense of possibility voiced by urban teachers. It is to the conditions of urban teaching that we now turn.

Working in Urban Schools, by Corcoran, White and Walker (198) reports a national survey of educators' experiences, with

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particular emphasis on urban educators. The authors report that urban educators work within nationally substandard physical conditions. They lack the space, resources and materials that their non-urban colleagues enjoy. They voice concerns about safety, teach relatively large class sizes and have access to inadequate resources. Educators, in general, experience standardized testing as a threat to their professionalism, and again we learn that urban educators are most frequently burdened by this practice. Teachers' involvement in policy making and their collaboration are mediated by size of their schools, such that in large schools teachers find few opportunities to be actively and effectively engaged in school policy making. Finally, poor working conditions reported by educators are associated with high absenteeism, low effectiveness, low morale and low job satisfaction. These are the conditions which prevail for educators working in schools ostensibly serving the students who need the most -- low income urban schools.

From 1981-86, Corcoran et. al. report that federal revenues to the forty-four largest school districts dropped by 20%. At the same time, local tax bases and aid to cities continue to fall. In these communities, teachers reported that their school buildings were aging, class sizes were increasing, and text books were only growing older. In urban areas, the typical workload (survey N = 472 high schools) involved classes of twenty-five to thirty, with total numbers of students approximating 125. While teachers' attitudes toward students vary, more positive attitudes characterize teachers working in elementary schools, small schools, schools with strong administrators, schools with high levels of teacher influence, and in schools characterized as having high levels of staff collegiality.

In their survey, 60% of the elementary school educators rated their level of influence over school decisions to be moderate to high. While fifty percent of middle school educators did the same, only 20% of high school educators did the same. Indeed, a full 60% of high school educators rated their level of influence as low (compared to 20% of elementary and middle). This pattern persists on the question of perceived collegiality. Here, 60% of elementary, 60% of middle, and 30% of high school teachers rated their schools as average to highly collegial.

In their evaluations of supervision/evaluation and recognition, high school educators continued to indicate the lowest levels of satisfaction. They all rated supervision/evaluation as low/moderate and 80% rated recognition as inadequate. In conclusion, the authors report that educators are most dissatisfied and see themselves as outside a direct line of influence, when working in urban areas and in high schools. In eleven of the thirty one surveyed institutions, poor teacher absenteeism and effort were attributed by teachers to poor working conditions. Confirming evidence comes from a study conducted on the Milwaukee Public Schools (1985), in which 69% of surveyed teachers planned to remain in teaching, but registered substantially more concern

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about teaching conditions than about compensation (Milwaukee Public Schools, 1985).

While Working in Urban Schools sought to unearth the stresses associated with urban teaching, the National Educational Association in 1985-86 recognized that if teachers were to be effective with students, and increasingly with students who have academic problems and are staying in school, then teachers would have to have adequate access to resources in order to perform their responsibilities, to participate in and shape decisions affecting their working lives and the education of their students, and would need to be in close and clear communication with school administrators. With the assistance of Samuel Bachrach and colleagues, the N.E.A. conducted a nationwide survey of 2,530 teachers, with a 71% response rate.

Bachrach, Bauer, and Shedd (1986) studied teachers' views of their work environments and, in particular, how these environments could be transformed to improve outcomes for both educators and students. Reflecting on the first reform movement of this decade, Bachrach et. al. argued that a focus on merit, hierarchy and the reinforcement of status differential prevailed in these reforms, manifest in recommendations for career ladders, additional layers of bureaucracy, master teachers, merit pay, minimum standards, etc. All of these strategies were associated with alleged "incentives" which were determined by policy makers for teachers. That is, all of these "incentives" and evaluations were created by persons substantially removed from the sites of educational practice.

Simply put, these strategies were designed to be rewarding to only a few, but disempowering to teachers as a collective. Control was maintained firmly in the hands of policy makers and bureaucrats.

More recently, Bachrach and colleagues note, there has been substantial talk about change driven by educators, based in and managed by schools, and developed through processes of shared decision making (Dade County, 1988; Liftin, 1988). If educators are to be the drivers of change, Bachrach and colleagues determined that it would be important to study from educators' vantage how they experience the allocation and utilization of resources requisite to performing their responsibilities; how they perceive and participate in the processes of policy and practice-based decision making, and how they currently assess communications with administrators.

Job Resources. Bachrach, et. al. found that 70% of teachers experience some problems with instructional time. More than 50% report some problems with space. And more than 50% report occasional, with 45-10% reporting constant problems in receiving feedback/assistance from administrators. Few report difficulties in acquiring supplies or materials. This latter point stands in marked contrast to the Urban Educators' report above.

From their analyses of the resource issues, Bachrach et. al. describe four responses that characterize educators' reaction to the scarcity of resources: 1) teachers become scavengers; 2) teachers use make-shift techniques; 3) teachers become "deprofessionalized"; that is, undermined as creative policy makers and designers of practice, and 4) teachers fail to meet assigned assumed responsibilities.

Decision Making. Bachrach and colleagues investigated how effective organizations decentralize their decision making processes. Highly centralized decision making, they write, has been correlated with high levels of suspicion, contempt, desertion, deteriorated morale and lack of trust. Reporting on the incidence of what they call "Decisional Deprivation" -- the gap between what educators believe they should have in decision making process and what they do have -- Bachrach et. al. indicate that more than 63% of educators report they should have greater voice in decision making processes.

Communication with Building Level Administrators. Over 65% of the respondents "seldom" or "occasionally" discuss school goals, instructional problems, subject content, or their own performance with administrators. In general, the survey uncovered minimal interaction between teachers and administrators.

Bachrach and his colleagues conclude that schools are currently organized around controlling teachers' activities, centralized decision making and rendering curriculum, testing and instruction teacher-proof. In such contexts, teachers grow alienated, tired, experience a sense of powerlessness, and in all likelihood display such to their students. In concert with the Working in Urban Schools report such conditions are empirically correlated with high levels of absenteeism and deteriorated morale.

Bachrach, like Corcoran, Judith Warren Little (198), Henry

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Giroux (1988), and others advocate radically transformed, democratic model of governance which much more intimately practices participatory and shared decision making. The activities of teachers should be coordinated, they write, so that teachers have access to and flexibility with resources necessary to their tasks. Teachers need to be actively and critically engaged in decision making processes and structures. And administrators and teachers need to participate in frequent and open dialogue about educational structures, practices, policies and politics.

Mary Haywood Metz, relying upon methodologies quite distinct from Corcoran et. al. (1988) and from Bachrach, et. al. (1986), has been engaged in a longitudinal, ethnographic analysis of educators' experiences inside comprehensive high schools: two high SES schools, two middle SES schools, two low SES schools and two Catholic schools, one of which was middle class and the other working class. Two of Metz' many intriguing findings bear relevance here. First, in an essay entitled, "The American High School: A Universal Drama Amid Disparate Experiences" Metz writes of the "common script" that structures comprehensive high schooling for educators and students, including the "egg crate" (compartmentalized) design, student "hours" of 40 to 50 minutes, teachers teaching five groups of differing students, within similar structures, with ubiquitous belief systems about what "used to be" and "what isn't possible". Metz found that teachers seem to adapt to their students, structures and to the common script, without much vocalized challenge.

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Metz writes on another equally defeating aspect of work of high school educators. Metz articulates a stunning paradox -- that teachers depend primarily on students to provide them meaningful "feedback" about their impact. Noting that salaries, work conditions, vacations and other such benefits are fairly well standardized and "equalized" within a given system, Metz argues that teachers have no way to extract a sense of impact or success from peers, authorities, community, etc. Except from students, and this reliance is problematic.

> Both as adults relating to children and as professionals relating to clients, teachers are socially expected to be in control and in charge. To be dependent on clients who are children for the accounting of one's own success is both technically paradoxical and socially demeaning. But in teaching -- or any other kind of work where professionals try to change the inner states of people of lower status than themselves -- it is inescapable. (2, 1989)

Metz notes that this paradoxical reliance on children or adolescents becomes particularly problematic when one teaches in a school where the percent of low income children is so high that most are not committed to compliance with the rituals of school. Such is a context in which teachers' demoralization flourishes. If students are unwilling to put out effort, teachers make fewer demands (McNeil, 1986), and ultimately feel demoralized about their work. Like Rutter and other scholars, Metz argues that schools and teachers need to have access to a mix of students, by social class and race.

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Echoing the concerns of these research projects, Aaron Pallas writes in "School Climate in American High Schools" that the strongest correlations of poor school climate, surveying 10,382 educators,are beyond a school's control. According to Pallas, these include the degree of underachieving students, and the percent of minority students in the student population. But he writes the primary influence on teachers' perception of school climate is the perceived mean ability of students in her/his class, compared to the rest of the school. In his survey of educators, Pallas found teachers who *believe* they are teaching more talented students -- regardless of actual academic levels -- report more positive school climate. Similarly, goal consensus -- the extent to which there seems to be a shared sense of purpose across educators in a school -- emerges for Pallas as another important component of a positive climate which seems to be associated with smallness of school, and the percent of average/above average students within one's classroom. Pallas suggests that school climate may be related to student outcomes in a direction typically unexamined -- that poor student outcomes may produce poor school climates. His evidence suggests that if increasing the percentage of minority students in a school correlates with educators' perceptions of poor administrative leadership, reduced teacher control, and poor student behavior, and if goal consensus appears to be highest among faculty when no minority students are present, then the best *perceived* climates are obtained when no disadvantaged

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students are present. This poses a critical challenge for low income schools.

Given that goal consensus and a sense of collegiality appear important to educators their impact on students appear in need of amplification. Rudolf Moos (1985) and his colleagues have collected substantial evidence which suggests that high work demands on teachers correlate with greater reliance on rote learning and passivity in the classroom. Likewise, Fine (1984), in a study of child care workers and teachers in New York City, found that educators who see themselves as powerless within their facilities tended to view adolescents with whom they worked as "beyond help" and to see themselves as unable to make a difference in these youths' lives. In contrast, educators who perceived themselves as having a substantial say in shaping policies and practices also reported significantly more positive views of the adolescents with whom they worked, and more optimism about the likelihood of their effecting a difference in these youths' lives.

Robert Stevenson (1987), in the Rand Change Agent Study, writes that a collective and cooperative climate for teachers tends to be associated with an enhanced sense of ownership, more successful implementation and maintenance of new educational practices. Stevenson found that collectively planned staff development enhances collegial interactions among teacher, irrespective of the purpose of these staff development projects. As Berlak and Berlak have demonstrated, if a sense of caring needs to be extended to students, and particularly to low income

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students, then this sense of caring needs to be nurtured in educators themselves need to be cared for and respected, as creators of academic communities, not products of or alienated workers within bureaucratized institutions.

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot (1983) illustrates this well in her ethnographic portraits of The Good High School. In particularly effective schools, Lightfoot found what she called the centrality and the dominance of teachers. While the effective schools literature would argue the importance of strong principle, Lightfoot writes that such strength is best embodied in careful attention paid to educators' needs. Lightfoot writes:

> ... One reason to encourage adulthood and autonomy in high school teachers is so that they will be able to have mature and giving relationship with their adolescent charges. If teachers are infantized, or if they feel caught between adult and child roles, then it will be difficult for them to establish consistent and unambiguous relations with students...

And she continues:

> Teachers' fearlessness not only comes from deep understandings of students; it also derives from an institutional authority that supports their independence... (342-345)

Arhar, Johnston and Markle (1989) write specifically on the effects of teachers' teaming on students outcomes. The authors begin with the premise that teaming is the standard instructional practice in middle schools, and in a study of sixth grade classes, 67% of schools surveyed did use some form of teaming. [8] Arhar, et. al. reviewed all studies since 1985, and demonstrated a positive impact of teaming on students' achievement levels. Arhar and colleagues found that as the number of students for whom a teacher is responsible increases, the more likely that teacher is to move away from the child/youth centered approach, and toward a subject matter experiment. Teaming appears to enable educators to focus on academics and the psycho-social environment at school and at home (Wehlage, 1989; Garbarino, 1980); to facilitate interracial cooperative relations among students (Metz, 1988), to reduce the number of referrals, suspensions and expulsions (Garbarino, N.D.), and to diminish the incidence of delinquency by students (Rutter, et. al. 1979). Finally, teaming, according to Joan Lipsitz (1985) in her study of four exceptionally successful middle schools, seems to reduce perceived teacher isolation, create student-focused groups, and enable joint teacher planning.

Teacher Involvement in School Governance

If teachers working together seems to promise positive outcomes for student achievement and behavior, and for teachers' sense of efficacy, what do we know about teachers' involvement in school-wide policy making and governance? Here we turn again to the review by Bryk, Lee and Smith (1989).

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[8] A caution is necessary here though, on definitions. Having teachers work with a group of students is different from having teachers work collectively with a group of students, and is different still from having teachers work collectively with shared planning time and common goals, with a group of students over time. At this embryonic moment in the educational life of "teaming", all three of these variations count as "teaming".

The first aspect of school governance examined by Bryk, et. al. concerns teachers' control over the entry and exit of students and faculty into a school. From this vantage, it is easy to argue that public school educators have little control over their own destiny. Unlike parochial and private schools, public school educators -- especially in comprehensive high schools -- have little say over who can and can not attend their schools, except in the rare cases of magnet and academic or vocational schools that may specify entrance criteria. With response to control over which faculty work in a school, this is rarely even in a principals' purview to select their colleagues. Bryk et. al. explain that over the past twenty years, with the increased rationalization of public schools, there has been narrowing of the authority of teachers, depersonalizing and deauthorizing of educators, with substantially more power allocated to higher and higher levels of bureaucratic management.

Bryk, Lee, and Smiths' analysis (1989) suggest that teachers' sense of community and their perception of strong principals are highly and positively correlated with teachers' sense of satisfaction and self-efficacy (see also Little, 1982). Bryk et. al. shape the debate by distinguishing between students' academic outcomes, and their social outcomes. He maintains that:

> [W]hen academic achievement is the primary concern, interest must focus on core features of instruction, such as coursetaking, curricular materials, teaching

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> efficiency, and homework, and how the organization of schools influence these (p 39)

If the primary target of change, however, is on students' and teachers' social outcomes, such as satisfaction, morale, effectiveness on student engagement, class cutting, absenteeism, and dropping out, then the influence of organizational arrangements is profoundly more substantial.

Secondary schools are organized typically around their disciplines. Teachers are responsible for between 120 and 140 students on average. They rely heavily on their disciplinary definitions of selves. With these ties to departments, notwithstanding, secondary school teachers, as noted by Bryk and others, report high levels of school-wide alienation and lack of engagement -- ever remote from any intellectual sense of community with colleagues. Bryk and Driscoll found that in "communally oriented schools", characterized by shared goals and values, common agenda toward meaningful interactions and patterns of caring social relations, teachers were more satisfied with their work and seen by students as enjoying high morale. In such contexts, teachers' rates of absenteeism were down, students' misbehaviors and dropout rates down, students' interest in school was higher, and math achievement was up. A communal orientation is, however, least likely to emerge in a very large school. Bryk and colleagues conclude that faculty alienation and disengagement are clear consequences of overly bureaucratized social relationships.

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The newest wave of teacher participation comes from districts such as Miami-Dade in which teachers are actively engaged in School based Management/Shared Decision Making (Liftin, 1988; Dade County Public Schools, 1988). While early evidence from District-wide surveys of involved teachers suggests that the transformation of these schools from rigid, inflexible and hierarchical management structures to flatter, more flexible and teacher driven structures bears significant, positive consequences for teachers' morale, commitment, willingness to stay beyond required years and belief in the possibility of change, it is too early to determine the consequences for student outcomes.

The Restructuring Project taking place among comprehensive high schools in the School District of Philadelphia, through the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative is, however, already generating quite exciting preliminary data about the impact of small, intimate, teacher driven communities for "at risk" youth, with positive outcomes for both educators and students. In Philadelphia's twenty two comprehensive high schools, varied forms of school based, teacher driven efforts, focused initially on the ninth grade, are underway. In three intensive sites, where extensive technical assistance and additional staff development resources have been allocated, teachers have designed, implemented, and are now teaching within semiautonomous Schools Within a School, many with "at risk" (e.g. age 17 in 9th grade, reading 2nd-5th grade, history of academic failures) youths. The evidence from one year of planning, and three months of implementation suggests that

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while the project is by no means trouble free, these educators -- who have been working in public schools for well over twenty years, and sometimes in these very same institutions -- are extremely enthusiastic, committed, energized and proselytizing to their colleagues. And while a survey is just being distributed to the faculties of these schools (which range from 1,500 to 3,200 students), the evidence from students in Schools Within A School (SWAS) is already quite strong. Attendance figures are 20-40% higher than school-wide aggregate data; failure rates for the first marking periods are between 30% and 50% of what they have been in the past; and suspensions seem to be down from recent history. All three of these schools are majority African-American and non-white student body, ranging from 30% to 60% low income, have suffered high rates of ninth grade retentions, troubling drop out figures, and depressingly high proportions of students who begin ninth grade that never graduate. This work, facilitated by an $8.3 million grant funded by the Pew Charitable Trust Fund is collaboratively pursued with the School District of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. It seeks to transform the structures of comprehensive high schooling so that the large, anonymous climate for faculty and students is interrupted, and replaced by small, intimate, intellectual communities. It seeks to alter instructional practices so that the teacher-based, passive instruction which typically characterizes secondary schooling is replaced by more engaged, interactive and cooperative learning strategies. And it seeks to re-connect schools and their local

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communities through (in some schools) extensive parent outreach and orientation so that the often hostile relations between comprehensive high schools and their local neighborhoods can be transformed into an ongoing set of interactions around community service, local organizations providing mentors, referrals, policy feedback, and around the school as a nexus of community based projects. The work of the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative aims to braid the best of what we know "works" from the available research, that is -- collaborative union-district oversight, teacher driven and school based change; numerically and psychologically intimate communities which support students' and faculty's academic and "personal" needs; engaged and engaging instructional practices; school-based management and shared decision making within high school buildings. Our early evidence suggests that the combination is difficult, but at the level of teacher and student outcomes, social and academic, thus far is winning. Assessment combines ongoing surveys of educators, a rich and detailed quantitative longitudinal data base on student progress and ethnographic accounts of structural change.

The Question of Parental Involvement in Middle and Secondary Schools

The Digest of Educational Statistics for 1988 provides much useful information on how it is that American parents and teachers view public schooling (United States Department of Education,

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1988). Polled parents and teachers, it seems, have historically down-grade their public schools. In 1974, mean ratings of public schools reached 2.63 (A=4, F=0), and dropped to 2.44 by 1987. The chief problems, as viewed by the general public are drugs (30% in 1987 compared to 11% in 1970), and discipline (22% in 1987 compared to 18% in 1970 and 26% in 1980).

When parents' and teachers' views are compared, important differences can be discerned in their points of view. To the item, "degree to which teachers seem to care about students", 31% of parents and 49% of teachers responded **excellent**; on the quality and competence of teachers, 26% of parents and 51% of teachers responded **excellent**, and on the "availability and responsiveness of teachers/parents when you need to contact them", 38% of parents rated teachers **excellent** whereas only 16% of teachers rated parents **excellent**.

Parents are more critical of schools than teachers are, and their desired interventions for school environments are also more "child" and "parent" focused. Asked about a set of interventions that might help "a lot", parents' and teachers' responses varied enormously by status (parent/teacher) and by parental race/ethnicity (White, Black, Hispanic). (see Table 8)

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Table 8

Parents and Teachers Views of Intervention that Might Help "A lot"

Intervention	White	Black	Hispanic	Teacher
Preschool	43%	73	55	31
School notify parents	88%	89	88	77
parents spend more time with children in support of school/teacher	69%	73	69	84
develop program to involve members of community with students who have special needs	60%	73	62	53
distribute newsletter to keep parents informed	66	71	80	51
Homework hotline	62	70	72	42
Counseling support	79	85	84	81

Teachers favored parents working with children on school related activities and counseling support for students, and parents were more interested in what the school could do for parents (notify parents, distribute newsletter, provide counseling).

While it is clearly faddish, in contemporary school reform documents, to argue the necessity of "parental involvement" in public schools, it is important to note that this involvement or participation is, as noted above, typically conceptualized as limited to roles in which parents can serve as educators in the

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home. That is, homework helpers, supporters of teachers and schooling, sources of encyclopedias and other reference materials. Much less often is the rhetoric of parental involvement centrally about questions of shared policy making and/or school site power. The obvious exception is the recent and radical restructuring of Chicago's public schools, in which each public school, across elementary, middle and secondary levels, will be directed by a Local School Council (LSC) consisting of six parents, elected by parents; two community residents, elected by community residents; two teachers, elected by schools' staff; and the school's principal (Designs for Change, 1988; Walberg, 1989). With Chicago the most compelling exception, the evidence of parental involvement on school structures and student outcomes is reviewed below, recognizing that most forms of involvement are typically adjunctive to the educational process, and largely segregated from real educational policy and structural decision making.

Bryk, Lee and Smith (1989) reviewed the literature on parental involvement, separating questions of community control, parental participation in school based governance, and home learning. Citing Rogers and Chun they write that after a ten year follow-up assessment of New York City decentralization, schools now have substantially more legitimacy among what gets called "community-based clientele;" principals appear more sensitive to community interests; and culturally relevant curricula seem to be emerging. Much more ambiguous, however, is the impact of decentralization on student achievement.

Citing the work of Malen and Ogawa on school-based governance in Salt Lake City, in which parent and professional councils were organized at the school site, Bryk, Lee and Smith find that collective decision making, after fifteen years, has not yielded significant influences on student academic achievement (although it is unclear that these outcomes were ever expected to be affected by parental involvement in governance).

Finally, in a more heavily researched area of the parental involvement scholarship, Bryk, Lee and Smith report that parental expectations for (rather than involvement with) children's achievement, as well as the importance parents place on educational attainment tend to be highly and consistently related to academic outcomes. This relationship holds even in high schools. Parents' volunteering in schools tends to be associated with positive outcomes for students (particularly in elementary schools), and when parents are regularly on site at schools, schools tend to develop more efficient and responsive organizations (Chubb). It is, of course, always difficult to discern correlational relationships. However, the work of James Comer suggests powerfully and longitudinally that increased parental involvement inside public schools (primarily elementary schools) can dramatically alter the culture and the responsiveness of these schools to the needs of children. After years of research and practice, Comer persuasively maintains that creating a collaborative dynamic between educators and parents, as opposed to the traditional social service bureaucratic relationship, markedly

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advances both organizational responsiveness to students "personal needs" and students' academic work (1988), even in low income schools.

Comer's work with urban schools and "poor minority children" deserves particular attention (1988). Combining a focus on mental health, academics and family involvement, he and colleagues have been able to general educational plans within a series of New Haven elementary schools in which:

> Our understanding is based on the fact that a child develops a strong emotional bond to competent caretakers (usually parents) that enables them to help the child develop. (1988, 44)

He continues, that:

> In spite of their alienation from the mainstream, many poor black parents still look to the schools as their hope -- indeed their only hope -- for the future, even though at the same time they expect the school to fail them and their children as other mainstream institutions have. (46).

Comer, et. al., work to reconstruct mentally healthful schools which encourage both student and family bonding to the school. School governance and management are handled by elected teams of parents and teachers, the principal, a mental health specialist and a non-professional support person. Through representative shared decision making, *team work* pervades the institution, and remains most consistent with the work of the mental health team which has the explicit function of detecting patterns of "troublesome behavior" and then identifying whether *some aspect of the school* serves to exacerbate these behaviors.

The data from Comer and colleagues, elementary schools, are extremely encouraging. Over 15 years, math and reading scores climbed significantly in New Haven elementary schools; and from 1985 to 1987, the California Achievement Test score gains were significantly higher for the ten predominantly Black schools involved with Comer (in Prince-Georges County, Maryland) than other Districts as a whole. While test scores of Black children continue to lag behind whites', the gap has been narrowing. This program is now being implemented in over fifty schools nationally, at middle and high school levels as well as elementary.

While Comer, from his work with New Haven Schools, has quite convincing data about the significance of parental involvement in schools, especially with low income parents, the High School and Beyond national data set, as analyzed by Keitch, et. al. (1986) suggests that parental involvement bears no direct effect on achievement. However, a study authorized and documented by the Milwaukee Public Schools, like Comer, demonstrates a significant relationship between academic achievement and parental involvement, although they too note that such involvement is both greater at the elementary level and more effective (1985 Study Commission). National data may miss the nuances of local analyses and thereby under-report any discernible relationships.

Joyce Epstein, a scholar of parent involvement, suggests that the notion of parental involvement be expanded at middle school, because at this developmental moment students enter and create expanded networks. She argues that schools need to be at the

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center of these networks, recognizing the embeddedness of issues that affect students and the substantial overlap of systems, especially for low income students.

Epstein, in a series of impressive empirical and theoretical articles, crafts an argument which positions family and school as necessarily overlapping systems, eager for but awkward at creating cross-system connections. In her research she found that over 90% of parents of elementary and middle school students believe that school should help them learn how to work with their children educationally; and that 80% of high school parents agreed. Yet relying on traditional indicators of parental involvement, (numbers meetings attended, calls initiated, etc.) she notes low levels of activity. What she has found, however, that is quite helpful to this analysis, is that school based practices can effectively enhance the home environment as an educationally supportive context. She writes:

> School policies, teachers' practices... are more important than race, parent education, family size, marital status and even grade level in determining whether parents continue to be part of their children's education (10), 1989.

When teachers are what Epstein calls "leaders" of parental involvement, parents report more positive attitudes, more regular involvement in homework and more family involvement with schooling. These teachers, in turn, are more positive about families than their non-involved peers. Working with parents tends to increase teachers' expectations for and appreciation of parents.

EVIDENCE FOR EFFECTIVENESS OF PARENT INVOLVEMENT

IN SCHOOLS ON ADOLESCENT OUTCOMES

STUDY	FORM OF INVOLVEMENT	RESULTS OTHERSTUDENTS	OUTCOME
Various reviews by Bryk et. al.	New York City decentralization		Ambiguous for reading scores
Various reviews by Bryk et. al.	Parent and professional councils at school site		No significant change after 15 years
Various reviews by Bryk et. al.	Parental expectation and importance on education attainment		Consistently related to academic by outcomes
Various reviews by Bryk et. al.	Parental volunteering		Positive
Chubb	Parents visiting schools	More efficient and response school organizations	?
Comer	Collaborative dynamic between educators and parents	Organization effecti	Positive (data primarily from elementary schools)
HS&B Data (Keitch et. al.) (1986)	?		No effect
Milwaukee Public Schools	?		Positive effect, especially in elementary schools, where involvement is greater
Epstein			Positive effect on teachers attitudes toward students and parents

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In a very interesting analysis of the relationship of teacher practices and parental involvement, Epstein surveyed the parents and teachers of 1,269 first, third and fifth graders, for whom there were thirty-six teachers who could be classified as strong supporters of parental involvement, and forty-six control educators. Teachers who supported family school cooperation reported more involvement with parents. Teachers who did not support such cooperation, however, reported that parents with little education could not or would not help their children. In other words, teachers who used parental involvement strategies were more equitable in their perceptions of and relations with parents than teachers who did not rely on parental involvement strategies routinely.

None of these research studies specifies how it is that parental involvement affects students achievement, if in fact it does. However, there are a series of suggested mechanisms worthy of further research. Svec (1982) conducted a small study of the role of parents in successfully negotiating a re-entry to school for high school dropouts. Randomly assigned male and female "dropouts", who showed up at a school, with and without a parent present, requested to re-enter a school. Svec found that more schools refused the young dropouts who were alone than those accompanied by parents. Parents serve as an important lever when adolescents negotiate with public schools.

Fine's interviews with educators (1989) and more recently with low income parents of middle school students (Fine and Phillips,

1990) suggests that parental involvement at the middle and high school levels, particularly for low income students, serves a number of ends. Most particularly, parental involvement at school reminds schools that an active, critical, and engaged constituency of adults is concerned with, and worried about the impact of schooling on their children. This research suggests that although low income parents may be reluctant to go to a school and/or to question or complain for fear that "they'll take it out on my child", students for whom an adult does question school policies and/or practices are more likely to receive fair treatment than those for whom the school presumes "no one cares". Unfortunately, in low income and particularly African-American and Latino communities, schools tend to view parents who do not show up as disinterested (Fine, 1987). Rarely do schools systemically reflect upon the extent to which parents/guardians feel unwelcomed by their institutions. Research coming out of Chicago should greatly improve our understanding of the possibility for power-based parental involvement in schools.

Choice

Probably the most hotly contested issue within the arena of parental involvement surrounds the much debated question of school "choice". As Mary Ann Raywid writes, when parents began advocating for empowerment they were "given" windows of opportunities in which they continued to influence school, but not really allowed to shape reciprocally policies and practices. One policy strand of the

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"parents' rights movements" that has flourished and entered fully the policy debates, concerns the question of "choice."

Raywid (1985) provides a very thorough conceptualized analysis of "choice" - explaining the ways in which "choice" now operates within and between schools and districts. Tracking, she writes, is probably the most popular form of "choice", although many would argue that few get to choose "in" or "out", especially from the lower tracks.

The notion of choice also emerges in discussions of alternative schools which were designed to provide options to students. But as many evaluations have demonstrated, "choice" is complicated by the fact that individuals and groups of parents do not receive information equally, synthesize it equally, or have the facility to act on it equally. Some groups are always left behind -- disproportionately those students who most need enriched educational experiences. The "Alum Rock experience" (see Blackman and Bridge, Rand study) suggests that many parents didn't actually choose, and that there were insignificant changes in student outcomes.

A third version of "choice" concerns district-wide choice plans in which Schools of Choice are offered as "deliberately diversified schools [or units within a school] [which] also provide a feasible mechanism for combining the values of a family choice and professionalism" (445). Schools of choice come in a variety of forms, and are implemented in ways that are diverse and sometimes quite contradictory. Some of these schools are designed

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for the "elite", others for the "at risk" and others for "smart and marginal" students. Some have open enrollment, others work as magnets, some work through vouchers, and some as specialty schools. The curriculum may be organized around a theme, around students' freedom, multicultural issues, Just Communities, health, arts, etc.

Reviewing some of these choice plans in practice, Raywid notes the ways in which the notion has gotten peculiarly stretched out of shape. For instance, magnet schools which emerged in the move for desegregation as a voluntary alternative to bussing and as a strategy for providing choice within a district, served as an institutional strategy to attract students from differing ethnic and racial groups and differing geographic locations. She notes that a study of more than 1,000 magnets, in districts of over 20,000 students, found one third of districts this size to have magnets. Only one to three percent of urban students attend magnet schools, and 59% of all magnets were found at the elementary school level.

Raywid reviews the evidence on magnets as "effective" educational institutions and concludes that they are not as effective in terms of desegregation as was expected, but are much more effective in terms of educational quality than expected. Magnets seem to have decreased the numbers of students attending racially isolated schools (especially white students) but some argue that the explosion of magnets, which "select" students, have systematically "deskilled" the comprehensive high schools. Where magnet schools do excel, however, is that they establish coherent,

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clear missions, opportunities for teachers to generate their own curriculum, evidence of well behaved students, high levels of participation, positive studies attitudes and parental satisfaction. Whether these outcomes derive from selective factors or the magnet schools themselves remains a question.

The political problems associated with magnets, however, are serious. As Raywid enumerates, magnets tend not to be very desegregated, and in some neighborhoods this becomes an historic irony. That is, in many urban areas, where the numbers of remaining white students in the public school system are diminished substantially, some "desegregated" magnet schools sit half empty while denying entrance to African-American or Latino students because their admission would tilt the school's racial balance. A second problem noted by Raywid is that magnets, while they may flourish as integrated institutions in a system, further segregate the rest of the system. Caldwell writes that "under voluntary desegregation plans in Houston, Flint.. and in .. Los Angeles, the number of racially isolated schools actually increased". Third, the administrative requirements of magnets often means that students (or parents) self-select, that the schools market heavily, pressures are placed on students regarding standards for remaining, and that these schools tend not to select the worst academic students. The schools select, advertently or not, on the basis of race, class, and "achievement" levels. Exempt from many requirements, these schools also tend to have higher per pupil resources. Fifth, because magnets are typically selected by

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students and/or families, and sometimes on the basis of values, magnets run the risk of attracting homogeneous kinds of students while excluding others. This raises a political question about the role of public schooling in contemporary society -- is it to enhance diversity and expose students to novel experience and notions, or is it to reinforce and socialize toward a shared set of values?

If magnets offer parents (as well as students and teachers) "choice" across schools, then Schools within a School (SWASs) offer "choices" within single institutions. According to Raywid, as of 1982, 20% of the country's alternative schools were actually situated within traditional schools, constructed with their own sets of teachers, students and, usually, spaces. Characteristically designed, for the "very bright" or the "dropout prone", SWAS's routinely have to negotiate the extent to which they are separate and autonomous from, yet interdependent with, larger institution. They may chose to be separate and autonomous, in order to generate a coherent and distinct division, assure the professional autonomy of teachers, and preserve the boundaries and integrity of the experimental unit with respect to scheduling, rostering of teachers and discipline management. Or they may chose to be interdependent so that the larger institution's resources and supports remain available.

As might be expected, the existing evidence suggests that SWASs designed for "dropout prone" students often deteriorate into "dumping grounds", and are less successful academically or longitudinally than those designed for more mixed groups. While SWAS's often appear to be an educators' delight, with potentially very positive outcomes for students, they tend not to be very durable for many reasons articulated by Raywid. First, they are usually generated top-down, with the decision to build a school within a school coming from administrators who want or need it, or because earmarked monies are available. In such instances, both student and faculty commitment tends to be low. Second, the standard focus of the SWAS on curriculum often neglects the much needed sense of community, culture and relationships. Altering the life of the mind for students is necessary but not sufficient for re-engaging adolescents who have been quite marginal to academic institutions. And third, the educators within SWASs are usually given little or no time for pre-SWAS planning, much less on-going planning. In the absence of time to think, reflect, revise and transform, the SWAS grows rigid, perverted to the norm, as any social institution does where there were no mechanisms for reflection, refinement or protection (Raywid, 1987).

As a footnote to Raywid's observations, the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative, in its effort to restructure Philadelphia's comprehensive high schools, is currently in the midst of facilitating schools to move toward entire school-wide transformation into SWASs, or gradual transformation through incremental SWAS. What should distinguish this effort, however, is that the conceptual frames for the SWAS are teacher-generated, and not imposed by the District or external university/corporate interests. The emphasis is on building student and faculty communities through structural and instructional strategies (e.g., cooperative learning, reflecting on practice, multi-media technologies, multicultural curriculum, etc.) The initial focus is on fostering relationships among students, faculty and between students, faculty and parents through extensive staff development and creation of longitudinal teams of teachers working with groups of students. Much time and resources are devoted to planning, staff development, retreats for faculty to generate curriculum strategies, projects for parental involvement, ways of conceptualizing "appropriate" assessments, strategies for braiding community service with the intellectual work of the classroom, etc.

Fifth, for Raywid, on the choice continuum are Satellites/Alternative Schools which are housed separately from any "host" school as autonomous. Evidence suggests that particularly for academically marginal adolescents, as Foley and Crull report, such alternatives can be extremely responsive. And yet, alternative schools tend to be problematic if: they are often not fully implemented; the system sees them as a deviation rather than an institutionalized entity and thereby wavers in its support; they are generated top-down and then "filled in" with available educators; teachers are brought into the alternatives who do not share the vision or desired strategies of the alternative; they become isolated, or exacerbate social class/race segregation; and skimming and dumping become ritual forms of entire

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Raywid's analysis of "choice" is thorough and provocative. Forcing readers to understand that "choices" saturate public education, and that they are always laced with race, class and potentially "achievement" biases, she confronts readers with the dilemmas of definition, politics and consequences.

Ann Bastian (1989), in "Unwrapping the Package: Some thoughts on school choice" poses a much more critical analysis of contemporary applications of "choice" in public education. Eager to distinguish ideology from practice, Bastian explains that in theory, choice should operate such that schools develop competitively and as quality institutions, earning increased enrollments, generating more options, and fostering institutional self-improvement. In practice, however, except in some very special circumstances (to be articulated below), choice-as-equity is perverted by the likelihood that: teachers and students will be selected as elite; informal screening and sorting will function as gatekeepers; the onus of achievement will fall on individually-pressured students; parental involvement and community participation may diminish; attempts at class and race integration may be compromised.

Dissecting the oft used example of successful urban choice, Bastian tells the story of New York city's Community District 4, the District which was supervised by Anthony Alvarado, and continues to enjoy the presence and creativity of educators such as Central Park East's Director Debbie Meier. In Community District 4, all middle schools are "choice" schools, as is the one

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new alternative high school which is "growing up" out of the Central Park East middle schools. District 4 is 66% Latino, and 33% African-American, 80% poverty (free and reduced lunch). In the early 1970's, 15% of the students were reading on grade level, and the District was ranked 32nd of 32 Districts. In 1973, "choice" was introduced and by 1987, there were twenty-two different educational programs at the elementary/junior high; two-thirds of the children attended "alternative" concept schools, and approximately two thousand traveled into the District from outside. Here, Bastian writes, choice works well because it was part of an overall school improvement process for fifteen years, initiated school by school, through the collective wisdom of teacher driven change. Committed to both choice and equity as non-competing absolutes, the initial plan detailed an exemplary parent information network and a community which was sufficiently close that individuals had easy access to information and support. Enrollment is neither selective nor random because school directors collectively and cooperatively decide on how students will be allocated once family preferences are specified. Yet even in District 4, Bastian notes, students who are in bilingual or special education programs are disproportionately segregated.

Another example offered by Bastian, also one which enjoys enormous popularity and positive reputation, is in Minnesota. Here, she writes, low income students have transportation subsidies provided to travel to schools of their preference, and schools can select, accept, reject and/or transfer students. In total, 2,500

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students of 700,000 participated at the time of this writing in the "choice" project. Bastian writes:

> If choice is genuinely pursued as a way to serve quality, equality and diversity in schooling, then it cannot be separated from a comprehensive agenda for school improvement and it cannot be divorced from the resource question".

"Choice", Bastian argues, should result from a restructuring project that insures quality education. In and of itself, "choice" is no replacement for a systematically and radically transformed school. In the absence of a thorough district-wide commitment to quality education, four categories of questions around any experimentation with choice. **Questions of Access** concern: (1) How does one mitigate segregation by social class, race/ethnicity, gender, achievement and/or disability?; (2) What if there are not enough "good schools?" Who gets what? (3) How do schools deal with parents' differential levels of knowledge, understanding, sense of commitment and sense of entitlement, as well as their differential resources to make "choice" a reality for them? **Questions of Equity** ask: (1) Will teachers and students be selected for elite qualities? (2) Will informal screening and sorting function as gatekeeping mechanisms? (3) Will schools recognize or depart from the cultures of families? (4) Will parent involvement be sustained? (5) How will integration efforts be bolstered? **Questions of Accountability** press: (1) When "choice" means competition, how do we keep schools from focussing more an packaging and public relations and less on substance? (2) How do we assume that

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standardized tests will not increasingly drive, and therefore water down, the curriculum? Questions of Governance probe: (1) How will parents not be disenfranchised? (2) What creative tensions will emerge between teachers' desires and parents' desires and how will they be managed? (3) What role does the local community play? (4) What role does the state play? (5) How will "fair" budgets be determined? (6) How do we keep choice from being a process with some winners, but many losers, and a process in which consumers have little power? Bastian, worried in particular that "choice" will drive schools to ask the wrong questions about assessment and student outcomes, forces readers to confront the practice based consequences of what appears to be a rather liberal tradition of privileging parents and freedom.

Christine Rossell, a political scientist who specializes in studies of desegregation, Charles Willie, an educator who has long been a scholar and critic of "choice" alone, and Sy Fliegel, a district Superintendent of Schools in New York city, argue that "choice", when braided with a commitment to equity, can produce culturally rich, academically exciting and socially participatory schools within urban areas. Rossell points out that in 1985, minority adults favored educational vouchers 59% to 26% (opposed); persons living below the poverty level favored vouchers 43% versus 34% (opposed), and urban residents favored vouchers 54% versus 30%. In Buffalo, she reports, controlled choice plans (in which racial interpretation is managed) produce a high degree of integration with "near perfect racial balance and a high degree of interracial

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exposure." Controlled choice is effective to the degree that parental choices can be respected. Sy Fliegel writes that schools of choice become engaging sites for school based management, increased the autonomy of teachers, the quality and diversity of a student body, and create a general sense of "increased ownership" over the educational process.

A sharp critic of free-floating "choice" as a liberal act of parental freedom, Charles Willie of Harvard's Graduate School of Education argues that universal guidelines be generalized to guide localities in the desegregation practice. These guidelines, he writes, need to address attitudinal barriers, or else choice will default to re-segregation. Choice alone will not keep a district from changing its pattern of rejecting some "outsiders". As Fine (1989) has written, "choice" has been used as an ideological veneer through which white affluent parents, for instance, have sought out of racially integrated schools and into segregated (white) ones in the name of "quality education", or "parental choice". In such instances, "quality" was a proxy for white/elite settings, and "choice" was acknowledged only for those who could afford to leave one setting, and enter another, more exclusive one.

Charles Willie worries, too, that choice alone will disrupt none of the power asymmetries that currently thread through urban education. He notes that in St. Louis, 10,00 black students travel to the suburbs for their education, but only 500-600 whites travel into St. Louis city. Likewise, his concern with magnets is that they account for only a small proportion of any district's students, and trigger adverse, indeed segregationist consequences reverberating throughout these same districts. "Choice as unlimited freedom," he writes, offers "short term help for a few, long run harm to the system".

In contrast to simple notions of choice, however, Willie supports controlled choice as it is now designed for Boston. Every school has become a multicultural, alternative learning environment. Every school is a magnet. Choice saturates the system so that options are omnipresent. Parents are invited to visit and observe. Parent information centers are well equipped with information and support services. And the onus for integration is on the now three zones which must equitably attract and retain multiracial student bodies.

While it would be quite useful, for the purposes of this essay, to have data or the impact of "choice" or outcomes, the scholarship is simply too young. The United States Department of Education has recently published (1989) Improving Schools and Empowering Parents: Choice in American Education. In it, schools of choice are hailed uncritically as a strategy for improving both educational processes, and "empowering" parents. The text is, however, disconcerting insofar as no data or discussions are presented on the impact of "choice" for parents, teachers or students.

This section ends, then, with the carefully articulated concerns of Richard Elmore, who has begun to document both the effects and the concerns raised by the current momentum around

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"choice" (1986). Beginning within the premise that policies of choice must be understood from the perspectives of students, parents and teachers, Elmore warns that there is little evidence that choice, alone, dramatically alters school performance. "Choice" may, however, have substantial impact on the kinds of social indicators that Tony Bryk, and others would argue are critical to the social side of school functioning.

Elmore asks three layers of intriguing and provocative questions about "choice". First he writes, there are many alternatives between the two popularly polarized positions -- choice versus coercion. Whether one is addressing strategies for financing, assignment of students/teachers, or curricular content, Elmore writes that a range of possibilities lies between top-down and bottom-up, recognizing the sometimes incompatible pressures for equity, efficiency, and sense of ownership.

Second, Elmore takes on the question, Should policy makers experiment with choice? And here he offers three reasons why one might respond with a Yes. Given that there is currently no evidence linking choice to academic performance, Elmore argues that we nevertheless know the limits of centralized bureaucracies such that:

> The system is hemorrhaging. One fifth to one half of its clientele during their adolescent years, and the education of those who remain is, at its best, highly variable in quality, and at its worst, dismal. (40).

Further, he writes that consumer and producer "choice" may be values worth recognizing in their own right. That is, schools of

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choice may provide some rare moments of democratic process for freeing up the creative energies of parents and educators.

But Elmore offers several cautions. He notes, as many have and others will, that bureaucratic systems are highly resilient to change, particularly in the face of efforts to transform them. Teachers and administrators tend to adapt client systems onto established patterns rather than responding to or creating new incentives. Insidious divisions tend to develop within choice or even more so mixed choice (for teachers and parents) systems between participants and non-participants. Most students do not make motivated, informed choices, but default instead, such that active and inactive students and parents, may become educationally segregated. And finally, Elmore explains that there is no evidence nor are there guarantees that increased choice will produce increased educational outcomes.

> In summary, the major argument in favor of experiments with increased choice is that they provide a much needed prod to a system that is increasingly bureaucratic in its relations with its client. The major problems associated with such experiments are that they may be co-opted by the system they seek to change or that if they succeed, they may impose the risks of mindless and destructive competitiveness without the benefits of greater attention to quality. (44)

This area of research on "choice" and parental involvement as they affect student outcomes, awaits us.

Switching Dependent Variables

This text has targeted academic outcomes -- attendance, achievement, and persistence -- for three reasons. First, these

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are a set of indicators of "adolescent health" for which there appears to be a rich literature that associates, if sometimes marginally, school environments with adolescent outcomes. Second, these outcomes, as well detailed in the early section of this text, are crucial to a broad array of adolescent and, over time, adult health outcomes. And third, the theoretical arguments displayed about the relationships of "creating community" or "shrinking school size" for academic outcomes in many instances parallel what can be said about crime/delinquency outcomes, adolescent pregnancy outcomes, racial/ethnic identities and on social activism, elaborate below.

Crime/Delinquency

Jencks and Mayer (1989) have demonstrated that a school's SES mix is more important in low SES neighborhoods than in high SES communities with respect to predicting delinquency rates. Economic segregation increases the frequency of delinquency, particularly among low SES adolescents. This finding reinforces the need for heterogeneous schools.

Gottfredson, et. al. (1984), moving back into schools, report on the relationship of school environments with adolescent criminal behaviors, noting that schools with high drop out and truancy rates tend to have high rates of student disorder and discipline problems. Gottfredson, et. al. writes that "Urban social disorganization" is often matched with "lack of administrative soundness" which includes poor teacher-administration cooperation;

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a greater focus on control rather than instruction; ambiguous institutional sanctions against students "transgressions"; a view of rules as soft and inconsistent. Despite this sorry analysis, in his 1988 monograph, American Education - American Delinquency, Gary Gottfredson maintains that because schools are where adolescents spend time:

> school is the most promising... [place to reduce delinquency behavior.] (82)

He reports that poor school grades correlate with delinquency, as do limited educational attainment, special education placement, being retained in grade, poor attendance, and additional indicators of "poor adaptation to schools." Schools with high rates of delinquency, victimization, and disruption tend to be schools in which parents have low levels of education and a high proportion of students are behind grade levels. Schools in which students are often victimized are schools in which students tend to report being treated with disrespect teachers, to associate with delinquent peers, feel alienated and report the frequent use of punishments. In these same schools, teachers report experiencing little influence, low morale, little planning toward improvement, poor administration and leadership.

Gottfredson argues from his correlational data that schools need to be structured toward "competent environments" for adolescents. He writes that nothing short of school-wide restructuring is sufficient to convert an incompetent school environment into a competent one (see also Rutter, 1980; Simmons,

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Burgeson and Reef, 1988). With five recommendations for what needs to be changed in order to reduce the incidence of delinquency, Gottfredson suggests first, reducing the size of a school to as small as 300 to 400, such that disorder is reduced, achievement is enhanced, participation and satisfaction are enriched. Second, structure the curriculum around individual needs, rather than aggregated, tested differences. Third, create a school climate of shared governance, through which there are clear and explicit school rules which are firmly and fairly enforced. Fourth, academic rewards even more than punishment (see also Rutter) need to be obvious and prominent through the daily life of a school. And fifth, an emphasis on academic excellence must pervade faculty, staff and student life.

Reporting on the Alternative Education program which he has evaluated, Gottfredson notes that in one of the seven pilot sites, South Carolina, a true experiment is underway. At this site, some of the most *successful* educational and delinquency reduction interventions are taking place in the midst of shared decision making among community agencies, students teachers, administrators and parents. Gottfredson attributes the success of the project to be the involvement of multiple constituencies, as well as to students feeling a sense of ownership over and participation within their schools (see also Rutter, 1980).

Reviewing the incidence of in-school violence at a national level, a broad scale survey *Violent Schools, Safe Schools* was conducted with 282, 000 students in secondary schools in 1978.

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Researchers (Bybe and Gee, 1982; Safe Schools Overview, 1986) learned that 8% of urban junior and senior high school students missed one or more days per month of school because they were afraid to go to school; approximately 5,200 of the nations' 100,000,000 secondary school teachers were physically attacked at school in the course of a month; estimates of annual cost of school crime ranges from $50 million to $600 million; and the risk of violence to youth was greater in schools than elsewhere given, that amount of time spend in these settings. The report, published by the NIE in 1982, found that community size was related to violence in schools. Rural communities had approximately 4-6% high levels of violence, while urban schools scored approximately 15%.

McPartland and Braddock (1987) offered some clues about school practices which are associated violence. Report card grades, for instance, tended to be lower for offenders than non-offenders, and they suggest,on-school property violence may serve as one way of responding to poor grades. Vandalism, in their analysis, reflects organizational alienation. In addition, these researchers found that students' access to decision making process (operationalization unclear) tends to enhance communication patterns and diminish the frequency of offenses. Finally, they found that teaching styles which were primarily based on teacher-based authority and coercion (employed by 75% of the educators studied) tended to be associated with students' low self esteem and the persistence of classroom disruptions.

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At the institutional level, Bybee and Gee found that large schools had more violence toward property than small schools, and somewhat more violence toward persons; the more students a teacher was responsible for, the more violence reported in that school, and the more value students had in teachers' opinions of them, the more property (as opposed to personal violence) loss was reported. Focussing on alienation and the clarity of rules and procedures, Bybee and Gee resonate to the "schools as communities" argument articulated above. Likewise, Joan McDermott (1983) in her analysis of the NIE's Safe School Study concludes that schools which are large, impersonal, lacking in discipline and lacking in coordination between teachers and principals, are schools which are likely to be plagued by high discipline and criminal problems.

A more recent study by Jeffrey Fagan and Edward Pabon on the Contributions of Delinquency and Substance Abuse to School Dropout (1988) finds a positive association between drug use, dropping out and delinquency. With an N of 2,467, students and dropouts, Fagan and Pabon found that male dropouts report the weakest social attitudes, fewer quality relationships with teachers, poor school experiences, more drug problems and more school crime than graduates. A full 30% of male dropouts and 22% of female dropouts had used serious substances more than three times in the past year (compared to 10% of male and 11% of female graduates). Generating an elaborate statistical analysis, Fagan and Pabon found the best predictor of dropping out to be a combination of weak family bonds and relative social isolation. Whereas school factors obviously and

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with devastating impact mingle with family and social factors, the authors conclude that:

> The interaction between school based and non-academic factors in contributing to school dropout suggest that schools should broaden their role in the lives of students outside the classroom (27).

Documenting a strong and significant difference between students and dropouts on school integration, educational aspirations, and relationships with teachers, these researchers conclude that for school to act "as if" school/community boundaries were impermeable or "not my job" is an irresponsible decision and one that invites low income adolescents to interrupt their educations prematurely when other environmental stressors prevail, and to increase, therefore, the likelihood of their involvement with drug use and criminal behavior. (Table 9)

Table 9

Male and Female Students and Dropouts by

Delinquency and Self Reported Substance Abuse

	Male Students	Female Students	Male Dropouts	Female
Rate of Delinquent Behavior	55.5/993	42.4/1076	175/255	50.7/143
Rate of Substance Abuse	21/993	17.4/1076	77.4/255	31.0/143

Source: Fagan, J. and Pabon, E., 1988, Table 3

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The evidence on crime and delinquency suggest that adolescents are engaged both as perpetrators and victims of delinquent acts. Wetzel reports that in 1986, in school there were 61,500 incidents of aggravated assaults; 44,000 robberies and more than 300,000 simple assaults (although reporting mechanisms vary widely, by race and class of communities and schools). One of six adolescents aged twelve through nineteen reported being a victim of a street crime in 1986, compared to one of nineteen adults. One of eighteen teens was assaulted, robbed or raped compared to one of thirty-six adults. And approximately 50% of crimes against teen women were committed by someone that they knew (with a recognition that only about one third of violent crimes are reported and these rates vary enormously by community). Roscoe and Callahan surveyed 212 white, middle class high school juniors and seniors, and found that 43% reported physical violence in their homes and 9% reported experiences in dating violence. Similarly, Burcky, Beuterman and Kopsky, in a 1988 study of dating violence among 123 fifteen through nineteen year old public school students found that 24% reported having been a victim of dating violence at least once; and an additional 14.6% reported being a victim of dating violence more than once. Two thirds told friends, 8% told parents, 6% told a teacher/counselor, 2% informed the law, and yet a full 20% told no one. (See also O'Keefe, Brockopp and Chew, 1986 who found 35% involvement in dating violence among largely middle class adolescent sample; and a significant relationship between teens who had witnessed parental violence and those who have experienced it.)

Garofalo, Siegel, and Alub, like Opotow take a cautioned view of reports of the incidence of *victimization in school*. Collectively, if independently, they describe this field of literature as one that reads more sensationally than most of the school literature. Garofalo, et. al. documents that victimization which results in serious physical injustice or loss is actually rare in schools, although, he notes, minor victimizations and indignities occur frequently. Reviewing national crime statistics for adolescents, he and colleagues estimate that 54% of adolescent incidents can be categorized as school oriented. But, as he points out, schools are *the* context in which not only tensions among peers may escalate into events of victimization, but the context in which such incidents will get reported. Garofalo, et. al. argue for the institutionalization of "capable guardians", in school and out, as essential to mitigating these tensions. Given Burcky, et. al,'s finding that a full fifth of victims of dating violence told no one, and only 6% turned to a school-based adult at all, there is good reason to believe that the message received by students is that *violence* is not a school's business.

Opotow, echoing on Garofalo's data, writes that:

> The national picture does suggest that widespread alarm about rampant violent schools is not justified.

Opotow posits, interestingly, that schools both under-react and overreact to school based violence. School-based neglect occurs

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when tensions and intimidations are heard about but overlooked by teachers and administrators who fail to intervene prior to escalation. In Opotow's survey of adolescents, only 33% report ever discussing tensions, conflicts or fights with an adult. Opotow suggests that the structure of secondary schools makes public admissions to an adult difficult and unlikely for most adolescents. In ironic contrast, however, Opotow believes that schools also over-react to adolescent conflict, often using forms of interrogation, threats and power plays which are unlikely to lead to the seeking of adult advice. Echoing the theoretical insights of Ray McDermott's notion of "trusting relationships" and Rutter's finding on the ironic impact of serious punishment orientation on discipline (e.g., that it increases behavior problems), Opotow writes that rigid and authoritarian suspension policies serve to deter open communication of students and adults and that such violations of procedural justice only infuriate and alienate adolescents who are searching to create and defend personal systems of justice.

While the research on the relationship between school environments and criminal behavior is scanty at best, there has been some work on what can be done to bolster school environments in contexts to mitigate against the enactment or nurturance or default to criminal behavior. Gale Dorman, Joan Lipsitz and Pat Verner, in Improving Schools for Young Adolescents (1985) write that adolescents need diversity, self expression, a sense of competence and achievement, and describe the Francisco Middle

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School, in which courses are team taught and the school is managed through a governance body that reflects on a detailed data base on safety, academic scores and developmental needs. As a school wide project designed to improve structures for students, and enhance student participation as well as respect for student diversity, these researchers found that at the beginning of the year, there were sixty-six in-hall "wanderers" but by Spring that number had fallen to fifteen. Over the same period, detentions fell from sixty to thirty. The suspension rate dropped by 16% in 1983 and an additional 31% in 1984. And referrals to the principal declined by 19%. Coming at the question through action research, Dorman, et. al. echo Rutter's sense that a full restructuring of School Process must be undertaken if student outcomes are to be effected and if these changes are to be sustained.

Garbarino, in an essay entitled, The Human Ecology of School Crime: A case for small schools articulates ironically how it is that large size creates precisely the conditions for academic and delinquency problems. First, exclusion from school activities fosters, in marginal students, the expression of oppositional behaviors and irresponsibility. Able only to participate in those activities in which they feel like failures, e.g. in academic areas, is a sure prescription for "acting out". Second, large schools generate "universalistic" ways of coping with adolescents, enabling only impersonal relationships to prevail, if any prevail at all. In universalistic relationships, what is involved becomes the critical question, whereas in particularistic relationships,

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who is involved can be treated with the seriousness it deserves. Third, large schools tend to form consistent and crusty human ecologies which are dominated by and work to justify, impersonal and punitive control-based interactions.

Garbarino explains that big schools may presume that they are offering a wide breadth of curricular opportunities, and that they are cost efficient, but as much of this essay has argued, it is clear that one way to enhance academic outcomes and reduce criminal outcomes is by having students identify with structures within a school, rather than lose themselves anonymously until they violate the building or a person, escalate a tension with a peer in a context in which no adult has intervened, or until they drop out and participate in criminal behaviors at rates of 28%-400% (Fagan and Pabon) of their in-school peers.

Teen Pregnancy

This text has focussed on those indicators of adolescent health for which empirical evidence of structural antecedents/correlates exists. It can thereby answer only the most obvious, and thereby conservative questions about the school-health relationship, and may actually paper over the more intriguing, but hard to measure questions about school environments and student outcomes.

What is known, for instance, of the relationship between school environments and teen pregnancy? Is it absurd, or overdeterministic to argue that schools' present environments,

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and/or their potential future environments, could/do mitigate social and historic influences toward teen pregnancy?

Jencks and Mayer (1989) document both the neighborhood and school effects on teen pregnancy, explaining that living in a poor neighborhood increases the proportion of teens bearing a child out of wedlock for whites, blacks and Latinos. That is, merely living in a low SES community increased by 33% Black teens' chances of becoming pregnant, even after controlling for family characteristics. Further, with family background characteristics controlled, Black teen females in very poor neighborhoods are about half as likely to use contraception at first experience of intercourse than their peers.

The Academy for Educational Development (1989) has written a comprehensive document on teen pregnancy and parenting, and begins their analysis by explaining that today, in fact, fewer teens are bearing children in the past. Birth rates for all but the youngest of adolescents have recently fallen. What does, however, distinguish today's circumstances from those of the past is the age shift; more single teen mothers; changes in economic situations so that young mothers and fathers have difficulties finding meaningful and long-term and well paying work; young mothers and fathers live in more seriously deprived social environments; and Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 which assures these young women their right to continued education (although of forty-seven model dropout prevention projects, only three were especially designed for pregnant/parenting teens).

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But these writers, like Berlin and Sum before them, also cite the problem of inadequate basic skills. One fifth of all poor teens with less than average academic skills turn out to be teen mothers, with proportions equivalent among whites, blacks and Latinos.

> The most important difference between adolescents who become mothers and those who delay is that typical routes to adults sense of self -- school success, earning money, planning college/career, or marriage -- are constricted.

According to the AED analysis, teen mothers rank lower than their classmates in academic performance, are behind disproportionately in grade level, and are more likely to drop out even pre-pregnancy than their peers. The good news is that this group appears quite susceptible to interventions that can successfully influence their educational and career trajectories. Denise Polit, Janet Quint and J. Riccio, in The Challenge of Serving Teenage Mothers (MDRC, 1988), describe Project Redirect, which was designed for out of school teen mothers seventeen years and younger, who held neither degree nor G.E.D., were receiving and/or eligible for AFDC. Focusing on education, employment, parenting, and life management skills, the project combined education remediation with job training, life skills education, brokered social services, peer group counseling, and community women who served as mentors.

At five year follow-up, Project Redirect women had better outcomes than comparison group women, and reported notable gains. In this quasi-experimental design (using women-on-the-waiting list as the comparison group), Project Redirect women were working more

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hours per week, with more substantial earnings, less likely to be receiving welfare and scored higher on a test of parenting ability. Their children scored better on cognitive skills and displayed fewer behavior problems. In the aggregate, this group gained enormously at year one, lost their advantage by year two, regained by year five. But even then, their life trajectories were rather depressing. Fewer than 50% had completed high school within five years, and only one third were working with more than 50% on AFDC.

With the most dramatic impact on teens who faced the greatest obstacles to "self-sufficiency" (e.g. dropouts), Project Redirect is encouraging as a short term intervention. It is most successful in employment and parenting education, and least successful in educational credentialling and family planning. The financial "gains" may have been statistically significant, but are not meaningful in real transactions. Perhaps the most basic lesson from this project is that the expectation that young mothers will be "self sufficient", after an "inoculation" experience, is thoroughly naive. When they were supported by the Project, these women did well. Once the supports were withdrawn, the women slipped. The pattern sounds reasonable, and even encouraging if supports were institutionalized long term. What we know from S. Harlan and R. Steinberg's edited volume Job Training for Women in general and Polit's essay (1985) in particular, is that programs for teen mothers must be comprehensive (including education, vocation, social and health aspects), supportive (including child care), foster a caring atmosphere, be individualized (small

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classes,) be sustained for more than six months, case managed and enjoy diversified funding. Polit, like Weatherby, worry, however, that it is hard to convince "male gate keepers" of the need to serve this politically unpopular population, and that the loss of Medicaid benefits following the termination of welfare benefits makes it virtually impossible for young mothers to fare as well working as they do on welfare. A simple fiscal, much less moral analysis, would legitimate expenditures on education and employment training (1985) (see also Center for Population Options, 1988; Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn and Morgan, 1982).

Finally, Susan Millstein, echoing many other researchers, argues given the precariousness of adolescent health and of adolescent health service delivery, a strong case for school-based/linked centers must be made. And that with such centers, schools can affect adolescent sexuality, pregnancy and health outcomes directly. Currently 125 such centers exist, serving less than 187,500 adolescents age ten through nineteen. That is, less than 1% of all adolescents. Once established, these centers tend to be utilized by 32-50% of those eligible, and disproportionately those who are attending school and relatively motivated. Clients are 36% male and 64% female. Both practitioners and educators find the centers to be useful in responding to problems brought by adolescents (e.g. typically physical illness, emergencies), and in discovering additional problems. In a study of four San Francisco centers, for instance 15-36% of visits yielded a mental health diagnosis that was followed up with on-going continuous care.

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Likewise, evidence from a study of nine New York centers suggests that students who utilized their clinics had fewer absences than comparison others (although other studies demonstrate no difference on academic/behavioral outcomes).

Some studies of school-based/linked centers demonstrate a particularly strong school continuance pattern among pregnant teens, this being particularly true in centers with well baby services and child care. Another study reviewed by Millstein in Kansas City demonstrates that one school with an on-site center reported: a significant reduction in number of adolescents involved in substance abuse; cigarette smoking dropped from 13% to 5%; alcohol consumption from 41% to 36%; and marijuana usage from 31% to 21%. There was, at the same time, no increase in sexual activity. (No control group data are available, however.)

Two other studies cited by Millstein suggest powerful and positive consequences of on-site school-based clinics. In St. Paul, Minnesota after a school-based clinic was established, adolescent birth rates dropped from 79 per 1,000 in 1973 to 35 per 1,000 in 1985 (no control data for abortion rates). In Baltimore, over a three year period, the pregnancy rate among sexually active students dropped by 30%, and the pregnancy rates swelled by 58% in control schools. The evidence on school based/linked clinics is, indeed, compelling.

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On Racial/Ethnic Identity, Consciousness and Critique

What is known of the relationship between school environments and students' sense of racial and ethnic identities? Should we care, as a culture ostensibly committed to diversity, that schools are typically organized toward "whiting out" diversity, silencing dissent and standardizing socialization (Fine, 1987)?

In the early 1980s I was invited to do research, and provide expert testimony for a long-time integrated high school in which the Board of Education of a small elite neighboring community (with no high school) of white and Asian families was seeking, through litigation, to sever its sending-receiving relationship with this integrated high school. The Bought sought to transfer its children to another, quite affluent, white and Asian neighboring public school. I conducted research over the course of a year at the integrated school (Fine, 1990), discussing with over twenty students and educators, life inside a public school which was integrated by race and class, a school in which diversity was valued and not hierarchicalized.

The final report described the critical value of "social education" in which students of color and white students come to learn about and respect critically and creatively their own ethnic and racial heritage and others', and concluded that in order for New Jersey to satisfy its requirements of a "thorough and efficient education" students of all races/ethnicities have to be exposed to persons of differing backgrounds in order to generate strategies for managing difference as difference, not as deficits; in order

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to figure out how to work through socially constructed power asymmetries across class, race, and ethnicity. In other words, attendance in a fully segregated elite [predominantly white] school is the functional equivalent of social miseducation. In such contexts, students are trained in the absence of diversity, in the presence of stereotypes and uninterrupted biases, and in the unconscious acceptance of "natural differences" which structure social hierarchies. If social education represents an indicator of adolescent well being, segregated [elite] public [and private] schools disallow for social education.[9] This area requires substantially more research.

There is, now, increasing scholarship on racial and ethnic "learning styles" (Hillard, 1987; Hale-Benson, 1986) and on interracial friendship patterns in secondary schools (See Hallinan and Williams, 1989). But little is known about the institutional and pedagogical conditions for promoting critical social education, in which the politics of similarity and differences are explored by students in their lived experiences (Delpit,1988). Janet Schofield (1978, 1989) writes that in junior high school cross race friendships are more likely to emerge in mixed ability groups than in homogeneous groupings. It is also known from the High School and Beyond analyses of Hallinan and Williams that students are much more likely to choose same-race peers over cross-race peers as

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[9] The New Jersey Commissioner of Education found that this community could not sever its sending-receiving relationship and that quality education was offered at the integrated high school.

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friends and that the most dramatic "racial cleavages" occur within high schools, across curricular tracks, and are initiated by white students who are six times more likely to choose a random white student as a friend than they are to choose a random student of color as a friend. Deeply ingrained social patterns of racial stratification are thereby reinforced by institutionalized tracking practices which only reinforce white students' "preferences" to bond with "similar" others.

John Ogbu (1982) writes of the devastating impact in school and out, that such racial stratification and cleavages have on African-American students. Living amidst a deeply constructed paradox, African American students who are in this country as products of coerced immigration appear to reject much of what schools have to offer, repudiating, if not consciously, the meanings and knowledge offered by public schools. Given black workers' quite historic struggles and oppressed position in the United States class structure, they have had to fight for individual and collective identities in which education scores most prominent. However, education has also wrought them a long and disappointing history and ensured them no success. Herein lies the paradox, to which, Ogbu writes, Black adolescents respond with a betrayal of their own intellectual capacities. While these adolescents may say, according to Ogbu, that schooling is important, and while they may persist in school longer their social class-equivalent white peers, they nevertheless tend to behave in ways that undermine their academic success, e.g., by being tardy, lacking serious attitudes, and not persevering. But, Ogbu continues, Black students actually produce "oppositional cultural forms" to school. They retreat in the aggregate and consider "being smart" to be "acting white" (see Fordham).

While Fine (1990) shares Ogbu's analysis that class and racial stratification render any educational degree of substantially greater material consequence to white than black youths, and that this differential has psychological consequences, it is also clear that schools in low income communities are structured so that African-American students, for instance, are forced to "make a choice" -- between self and kin/self, and between personal development and community involvement. Ogbu appears to understate schools' role in "whiting out" racial and ethnic diversity. There is little empirical literature to shed light on these relationships.

Like African-American students who are asked to sacrifice connections to kin, community, heritage, history and culture, Latino students and Native Americans are typically forced to sacrifice their knowledge of history, ethnic connections, and their language. In a very interesting analysis of "schooling and symbolic violence", Iadicola studied 118 sixth grade Latino students immersed in school cultures which focussed on individualist, AngloSaxon cultural traditions, knowledge and skills in English. He found that as levels of testing, groupings, and comparisons increased in these schools, Hispanic sixth graders voiced increasingly negative attitudes toward their own ethnicity.

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Iadicola found that Hispanic students who were placed in a numeric minority position and "integrated" into Anglo peer groups and academic success tended also to describe themselves as more ethnically marginal than their peers.

In a more recent study of ten desegregated elementary schools, five selected for positive outcomes for Latinos and five for negative outcomes, Iadicola studied 102 Anglo and 118 Latino sixth graders and found that as the level of "Anglo domination" in a school rose in terms of parent power, staff power, and percent Anglo, Hispanic students were less attached to their own group. This held especially for Latina females. In contrast, as Hispanic parent and staff power rose, so too did ethnic salience for students. And finally, he found that the multicultural curriculum correlated with "ethnic salience", especially for young Latinas. The presence of ethnic/racial diversity in a school plays deeply and insidiously into issues of personal identity and therefore into cultural health for adolescents.

Jim Cummins (1986), who writes extensively on bilingual education as a moment of "empowerment education", begins with the premise that public schools must reverse broader social inequities. Calling for the inclusion of minority cultures and languages in schools, Cummins, in the Harvard Education Review, provides evidence that bilingualism can increase reading and verbal interactive ability. School-based collaborations with minority communities can enhance academic outcomes, citing evidence on children who were invited to read to their parents (compared to

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children who received extra tutoring), who then increased their reading scores significantly. Finally, Cummins maintains that pedagogies must be rooted in cultural reciprocity and interactions and that assessment strategies must produce the conditions for advocacy. In the broad scheme of adolescent health, linguistic as well as cultural pride and fluency seem to be critical indicators. The impact of school environments on racial and cultural identities has, however, been systematically underexplored, perhaps because public education has had such a perverse historic relationship to notions of difference and "diversity".

On Community Involvement and Activism

While there is little in the way of empirical evidence on the impact of school environments as they affect adolescents' levels of community involvement and/or activism, a review written by Joan Schine for the Carnegie Commission articulates the multiplicity of outcomes which can potentially derive from the recent press for community service in public schools (1989). In addition to increased sense of empathy and concern for others, educational strategies for community involvement and activism, if constructed well, could enhance adolescents' sense of personal efficacy, nurture their sense of participation in democratic process, and extend the kinds of social educations addressed above. As is typical of any educational "fad" however, community service is now a buzz word which captures experiences as diverse as escorting senior citizens across busy city streets to students providing technical consultation and assistance to a polluted environmental site (Silcox, 1988, personal communication). This slice of adolescent health is noted here in part, because it is so ripe for, and so without, empirical investigation. If educators are serious about creating contexts in which adolescents can come to see themselves as critics and creators, organizers and social activists, then schools will have to shape these kinds of educational experiences for students across social class, race-ethnicity, gender, disability and achievement levels. Community involvement is precisely the kind of pedagogical intervention that can and should be available democratically within heterogeneous groupings of students (see Schine, 1988; Deutsch, 1989).

Reflections on School Environments and Adolescent Well Being

Reflections on Investing in Adolescents

Henry Levin, in a 1989 essay on "At Risk Youth", offers a compelling argument for why policy makers should invest in the educational lives of "at risk youth", in particular prior to their dropping out of school. Defining the "at risk" population to include those who are economically, socially, and/or academically disadvantaged, Levin writes that such students gain seven months for every ten months of academic training. By sixth grade they are on average two years behind in achievement. And by twelfth grade they are, on average, four years behind.

Levin reviews evidence on why investment in "at risk" youths' education is morally essential, but also fiscally smart. Relying

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on the Ypsilanti preschool data, the Head Start and Chapter I results, he estimates that the nation needs to spend 50% more on "at risk" students over their elementary and secondary years and that these expenditures will need to be derived from a renewed and fiscally reinvigorated federal pool of resources, if equal opportunity is not to be ideologically hollow.

Cataloguing the recent successes of federal interventions such as Head Start and Chapter I, Levin documents the diminished black-white gap in reading and math attributable to Chapter I services. Beyond this, however, Levin argues that the degree of disadvantage is, today, more dramatic than in the past, reporting that in 1969-79, 16% of children lived below the poverty line; by 1983 that number grew to 22%; and by 2020 it is predicted that 27% of children and adolescents will live below the poverty line.

Reflecting a similar perspective, James Catterall has calculated the societal costs of dropping out (1986) by estimating the consequential reduction in national income, low tax revenues, welfare and unemployment subsidies, increased judicial and penal services, inflated health costs, lower electoral participation and bolstered educational services for children in need. For each school class he estimates that approximately $228 billion in lifetime earnings and approximately $68 billion in tax revenues are lost because of the high rate of dropping out of high school (Catterall, 1986). Individual earnings lost come to $187,000 for individual urban males (allowing for percentage of minority youth and discrimination in their earnings) and $122,000 for urban

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females. Merely looking at the money -- not the quality of life, social participation, community involvement, or psychological self esteem -- Catterall concludes:

> [T]he Los Angeles School District ... [reports a] a one million dollar per year pilot program in 21 of its 600 or so schools. This amounts to its devoting one half of one percent of its resources toward a problem which will eventually affect nearly half of its entire pupil population (1985, p. 17).

And in an analysis parallel to Levin's and Catterall's, Pallas, Natriello and McDill (1989) have estimated that the proportion of public school students who will fall into the category of "educationally disadvantaged" will increase exponentially over the course of the next thirty years. Relying upon multiple indicators of what they call educational disadvantage, they report that educational disadvantage collects inside central cities, in rural areas, in the South and the Southwest. Depending on definitions, they estimate that approximately one third of all public school students fall within this category, and that:

> The single most important factor in the school aged population of the future is the expected increase in both the number and proportion of educationally disadvantaged young people. (15)

With poverty as the indicator of disadvantage, they estimate that from 1984-2020, the number of children living in poverty will increase by 37%. With maternal education as the indicator of disadvantage, they estimate that the percent of children residing with poorly educated mothers will increase by 56% during this same time period. Either way, public schools will have approximately 5.4 million more children in poverty to deal with, over the coming thirty years.

Today, Levin writes, 60% of tax revenues go to the federal government. But the federal government pays only 6% of the cost of public education. He, like others, takes the position that if our country is serious about children's and adolescents' well being, federal monies must be made available generously, preventively, flexibly and not categorically -- that is, in ways that enable that full education of "at risk" youth toward healthful educational, social and behavioral outcomes.

The bulk of the evidence collected in this review reinforces, with optimism, Levin's argument and suggests that under compelling and nurturing structural arrangements, public schools can retrieve and nourish the minds of most of those adolescents who appear to have been sacrificed by the system today. A few public schools successfully do this today (see Meier, 1987, Lieberman, N.D.). It is equally clear, however, that the structures and practices recommended in this text may not appear efficient in the short run, but instead permit social and educational engagement and persistence in the long run.

This essay has focussed on those indicators of adolescent health for which there are scholarly literatures associating school environments with health indicators. Toward that end, most of the text has addressed academic outcomes directly, including attendance, achievement, graduation, suspension and dropout rates.

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While these studies are typically not longitudinal, not disaggregated by race/class/gender or achievement and not contextually deep, they tell a consistent story about what has been, and what could be. We have come to see that aspects of adolescent life that might have been assumed unrelated to academics, such as delinquency, pregnancy and parenting, racial/cultural identity, and a commitment to community involvement can be (and are) intimately affected by the structures of schooling.

Beyond these outcomes, the text has identified two additional categories of indicators to be indexed within the broad frame of adolescent health. Both are crucial to a comprehensive understanding of schools' impact on adolescent well being and neither of these has been investigated very thoroughly. Each, then, represents an area of serious need of scholarly inquiry and action research.

First, environmental factors, in school and out, function to threaten, if not inhibit, adolescent development. These factors include exposure to asbestos, radon, lead poisoning, high fat/sodium lunches and inadequate exercises. While there are pieces of research available on each of these "issues" within schools, they are typically studies on the exposure, disassociated from analyses of environments or adolescent impact.

Second, there are those aspects of schooling which concern the development of adolescents' sense of participatory democracy. Included in this slice of health outcomes are adolescents' sense

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of critical participation, their respect for diversity, sense of personal efficacy, commitment to community and others' needs, sense of racial/ethnic identity and willingness to work with issues of "difference". At this point, little is known about how schools can promote, and only a bit about how they currently silence (Fine, 1987) students' sense of participatory democracy. Typically seen as an extravagant or "frills" set of adolescent indicators, these indicators are rarely given space in either scholarly literatures, or in schools themselves, except, perhaps, in quite elite, private schools in which notions of justice and democracy are often taken quite seriously (Fine 1990). And yet given the conditions of racial and class tensions in secondary schools, urban (and suburban) communities and on college campuses, it is clear that we need to be educating people to be actively and critically engaged -- beyond simple self-interest. This slice of health is as important to understand, as it has been neglected in scholarship.

While these two areas of adolescent health are in desperate need of research work, policy makers also need to know more about the conditions under which teachers' participation in school based governance can affect students outcomes; about the conditions under which parental involvement in middle and secondary schools can affect students' outcomes. Both of these areas lend themselves to timely action research projects.

With those areas chartered out, it is safe to say that with respect to policy much is now known about how public middle and secondary school environments can be constructed to facilitate

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adolescent well being. The available literatures are quite consistent with respect to the impact of current middle and secondary school environments on adolescent well being. Particularly for marginal students, it is safe to conclude that large, anonymous institutions are problematic, particularly if students have been left behind from other "options" schools; if teachers are dissociated from each other, from spheres of District policy-making, school-based power, and from students; if students' "personal" health problems are rendered outside the responsibility of schools; if curricular diversification is quite extreme; if parents and community are considered extraneous, if tracking and testing are deeply embedded across and within schools, and if students have few opportunities for critical or effective participation in, or responsibility for, their schools. These are the institutions out of which few graduate, fewer learn to read or compute "on level", peer-to-peer and adolescent-to-teacher violence flourishes, teachers feel powerless, demoralized and not very engaged, or engaging, with students. In such institutions, drop out rates, pregnancy rates, delinquency rates, victimization rates and suspension rates typically soar. Everyone feels "out of control". Every one presumes that school structures can't make a difference and only demographics matters. Ironically, of course, in such contexts, school structures are making an enormous, adverse and "invisible" difference. And such schools are, today, the norm.

In contrast, there is compelling and cumulative evidence that smaller schools, both numerically and psychologically, are

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particularly conductive for nurturing a sense of educational community for marginal students. These contexts are mostly likely to flourish if students have a sense of having selected, having been selected or having been invited back for a Second Chance; if teachers and parents are engaged in shaping the policies and practices of their schools; if school environments are equipped to support the academic and "personal" (e.g. health) needs of adolescents and their kin; if the curriculum runs narrow, deep and equitable (Sizer, 1988); if classes are organized through heterogeneous and cooperative groups, and students are actively and critically engaged in the educational and political practices that affect them daily. These are the institutions from which we have evidence that many can graduate, particularly marginal students. And many will learn. In such contexts, there are relatively fewer incidents of delinquency and diminished numbers of suspensions. Attendance and course passing rates are improved while special educational referrals are reduced. And students are less likely to be socialized into a rigid belief of "natural hierarchies".

In contemporary middle and secondary schools, the former image prevails as reality, particularly for low income students, and their educators. It has historically been evolving as the "efficient" school organization. The teacher/student ratio hugs one-to-thirty; principals serve as the absolute authority; community and parents are typically trivialized partners; the cumulative drop out rates hover between 40 and 60%. Outcomes are

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devastating -- and school structures are presumed unrelated to these outcomes.

To reverse this pattern, communities of policy makers, educators, activists and scholars would need to reconceptualize and take back the notion of "efficiency" to include the creation of highly relational educational communities, adequately and flexibly financed, nurturing, rich with the possibilities of relationships and the exercise of critical participation. These may be arrangements that, in the short-term, are costly. The federal government's share of the budget would have to be increased to mitigate against community tax base disparities, and their monies would need to be more flexibly available in school. The trauma of transitions, the value of critical participation and adolescents' deep need for racial/ethnic identity and dialogues would have to be infused in school life. Decisions would need to be made locally and democratically inside individual schools by the teachers, parents, administrators and students who form the constituency of those schools. School size, both numeric and psychological, would need to be reduced; and academic institutions would need to recognize that "personal" problems affect academic life such that health services, social services and other supports may need to be institutionalized on site if low income adolescents are not to sacrifice their educations because of impoverished domestic and community resources. State, local and school specific policies which now bear disproportionate and adverse effect must be analyzed publicly, reconceptualized, withdrawn (in some cases)

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and reframed (in others) -- including promotion/retention policies, suspension policies (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1986), standardized testing policies, and tracking practices.

In the early 1990s, our national educational responsibility lies in the public denouncements of those policies and practices that prove to be problematic and damaging, and in the public pronouncements of what needs to be done. As with the emperor's "new clothes", the cult of "efficiency" for public schooling has been disrobed, even as calls for "budget cuts" sound loudly, in the ironic language of accountability. This review has demonstrated that saving revenue on the education budget only means transferring fiscal expenditures to other public budgets that will deal now, as well as later, with outcomes which are associated with failing school environments -- crime, unemployment, drug abuse, early motherhood, poverty and welfare. Saving revenues on the education budget has meant that low income youths, particularly African American and Latino youths, daily sacrifice their personal and collective well being, all in the name of "organizational efficiency". Surely this is neither efficient or ethical.

What is efficient and ethical, in the long run, is to provide the kinds of relationship-rich educational contexts inside schools which pay off as educationally effective, especially for marginal youths. These young women and men deserve to leave their institutions educated and energized, equipped to deal creatively, critically and collectively with a world in which employment,

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housing, health care and social services will, in all likelihood, remain inadequate to their needs.

Educational transformations are, of course, insufficient to change radically the class, racial and gender conditions firmly rooted in our economic and social arrangements. And school systems must work in concert of other public and private institutions to respond effectively to the myriad of issues that today's adolescents confront. But educational transformations are, themselves -- even alone -- absolutely essential to creating active, engaged, critical and healthy citizens skilled to work, to nurture and to shape caring communities of diversity, generosity and possibility.

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